

THE
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STANDARD**

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

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CONTENTS

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Get it Straight in 1958

PROFIT AND PUBLIC SERVICE

EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT the shortest distance between two points is a straight line: a simple, unanswerable, self-evident proposition. Who, then, could fail to think and act on it? Well, in the matter of getting Socialism almost everybody acted otherwise. It remained for small bodies of Socialists, like those who formed the S.P.G.B., to insist that the straight line from capitalism to Socialism is the shortest way and the only way. This takes us back to old arguments that have largely been forgotten but which ought to be remembered and studied by all who want Socialism.

What was needed?

In the earlier days of the Socialist movement there were men and women who had the Socialist idea and knew what was needed, but who rejected the S.P.G.B. They did so for reasons that seemed to them convincing. They agreed that, for the fundamental social change, there must be a Socialist majority, politically organised, gaining democratic control by taking the machinery of government out of the hands of the capitalists. But when they looked at the workers who had to be won over to Socialism they were dismayed. They saw millions of men and women, ignorant of Socialist principles, harassed with problems of getting a living, supporting the Liberal and Tory parties, dazzled by monarchy, loving a Lord, and awed by the power, wealth and knowledge of the rich. It would, they said, take half a century to turn this depressing human material into a political army for Socialism. What was needed was a quicker way. Something must be done immediately to ease the hardships of the poor and improve capitalism, and in the course of doing this the grateful workers would turn readily to Socialism. So they said to the S.P.G.B.: "You mean well and your case is logical, but logic is not enough. The slow, hard progress on the direct, uphill road to Socialism is theoretically right, but impossible in practice. Human beings being what they are we must leave the straight road and come back later on."

NOTES BY THE WAY

FIFTY YEARS AGO

KEEP AN EYE ON SPAIN

THE GREAT WHITE ELEPHANT

Registered for transmission to
Canada and Newfoundland

Monthly

6

The Byeways of Social Reform

So they laid their plans and revised their programmes. They undertook to keep the great Socialist objective before their eyes, though rather a long way off, but would, for the moment, concentrate on the day-to-day practical things, like minimum wages, old age pensions, abolishing war, getting rid of the Monarchy and the House of Lords. Naturally this would take a lot of energy away from propagating Socialism, and meant turning aside from the main road to go into byeways: but only for a time, they said. Then, with an invigorated working class behind them, happier and freed from the worry of war, they would come back to the

high road and prove to the S.P.G.B. that the roundabout way was the quickest in the end.

Time to take stock

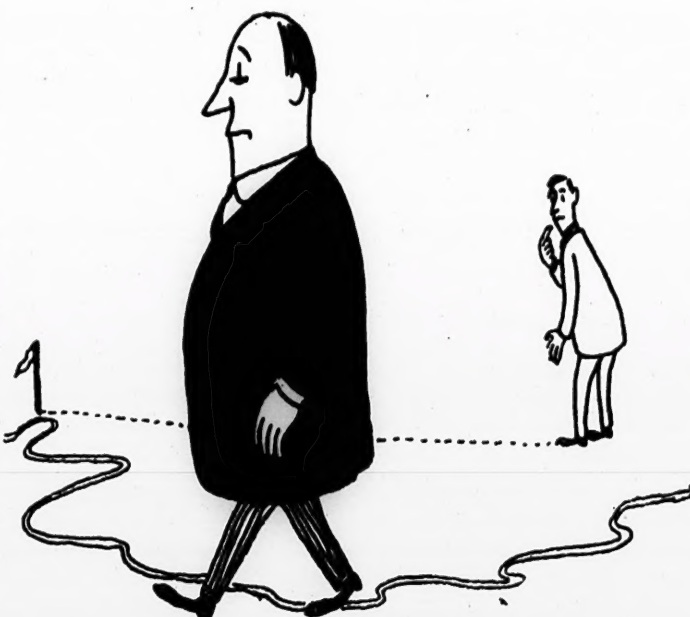
Now the temporary turning aside into the byeways has gone on for half a century and we can examine it again in the light of experience. What do we find? The promised reforms we have in plenty, contributed by Liberal, Tory and Labour Governments in profusion, though without weakening capitalism. But something has gone wrong with the plan. Instead of being freed to come back to the main job of getting Socialism, the Labour Party is now wholly absorbed in trying to win still more reforms, many of them the same ones that they promised to introduce quickly at the beginning. Now they are arguing about which kind of reformed House of Lords we are to have; about ways of modernising the monarchy; about further plans for getting the trade unions under Labour Government to accept "wage restraint"; about whether to fight wars with or without the H bomb.

If they had been the Tory Party, aiming to keep capitalism going as long as possible and willing to make concessions in the shape of social reforms to dissuade the workers from demanding Socialism, it could be said that the original plan had worked very well indeed. But some of the early supporters of the Labour Party genuinely did not look at it in that way. They really did aim at Socialism. But the attractive side roads of social reform led only into the morass of capitalist politics and now they are hopelessly bogged down in it. They have not come back to the high road that leads to Socialism. They have forgotten all about the road and the objective at the end of it.

A striking case in point is the fate of what was perhaps their best proposal, to get good, cheap houses for the workers. The intention was admirable and it seemed especially attractive because many Liberals and Tories were prepared in the interest of efficiency to support it, too; at least they appeared to be willing. Indeed it was a Liberal-Tory government that first introduced rent control and the Labour Party was glad to support it. Then the Labour Party found that the purpose of that Coalition government measure in 1915 had a snag: it was not intended to be low rents with high wages, but low rents to make it possible to keep wages down. Such an idea had not entered the heads of the early Labour Party advocates of rent control, but when the Labour Government came to administer capitalism in 1945 they convinced themselves that the "economic situation" (that is, the economic situation of British capitalism) left them no alternative but to link rent control with the late Sir Stafford Cripps' "wage restraint." That was one bitter pill that they swallowed. Now events have forced them to swallow another, for they have discovered that rent control, by keeping rents below an "economic level"

makes it not worth while for landlords to keep homes in repair, so that slums have been produced in the past 12 years at a rate faster than when the Labour Party began. They have, therefore, like the Tories, abandoned rent control. As the *Manchester Guardian* rightly says:—

"Rent control—the freezing of the rents paid to private landlords for house property—has no serious defenders as a policy for present application. Notwithstanding its rash promise to 'repeal' the Rent Act, the Labour Party has long recognised that the need to conserve our decaying stock of houses makes a change of policy imperative, and that whether the new policy be Conservative or Socialist, rents must go up." —(*Manchester Guardian*, 5/12/57).



Now the Labour Party is back where it started, looking for another cure for the housing problem within capitalism. But it is not just the housing reform that has misfired, it is the whole theory of social reform as a means of getting Socialism. Capitalism nullifies them all and thwarts the reformers' intentions. The reformist policy has not brought Socialism nearer and it has destroyed what socialist interest there was originally in the minds of those who joined the Labour Party to get Socialism. The Party that was to show the S.P.G.B. how to reach Socialism quickly has become merely Her Majesty's Official Opposition, an alternative government for capitalism. Even for the purpose of getting concessions from the propertied class they were wrong. As the S.P.G.B. maintained at the time, if the energy devoted to reforms had been used instead to build up a militant Socialist movement the propertied class would have hurried forward with reforms in the hope, though a vain one, of buying it off.

The shortest distance between two points is still a straight line. H.

called Welfare State, in which poverty has been abolished and provision made for everyone. But the number of people on Poor Relief (we now call it National Assistance, but this is only a change of name) now number 1,700,000, nearly as high as the figure for the worst depression years, and very much higher than it was in the years before 1914, when practically none of our present social services were in existence."

(The economist, Colin Clark, in *The Cost of Living*, p. 7.)

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Vast Army on Poor Relief (1908)

"There is a vast army of men and women wretchedly poor, living under abject and squalid conditions, and existing on a pittance eked out by the poor rate and private charity." (Statement by Home Secretary, quoted in *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, January, 1908.)

Vast Army on National Assistance (1958)

"We make a lot of silly statements about our so-

WALTER FORD

WE are sorry to announce the death of another old member. Comrade Walter Ford died peacefully in his sleep on November 26th, he was in his 94th year.

Loyal to his last wish his family buried him without religious ceremonial at Putney Vale Cemetery on Tuesday, 3rd December. Comrade McLaughlin conducted the oration at the graveside and the General Secretary and Comrade Rhoda Taylor attended and paid their last respects on behalf of the Party. Unfortunately, due to his age, Walter Ford had outlived most of the older members who knew him when he was active in the old Battersea and Tooting Branches.

He joined the Party during the first World War, but had been a sympathiser for many years before then. In his younger days he was very active in the Tooting area, and was for a time Secretary of Tooting Branch, which used at that time to meet in his home at Beechcroft Road.

When Tooting Branch closed he became a member of S.W. London Branch. He was probably unknown to many younger Branch members because in his latter years he became extremely deaf. Unable to follow branch business he decided not to attend the branch, but he never lost complete contact with the Party and its members. He made a point of "looking in" during Conference to meet older comrades and talk about the old days.

He delighted in meeting younger members at his home to discuss current Party matters, and up until his death he personally delivered copies of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* to about half-a-dozen old contacts whom he had interested in the Party.

Although he will not be remembered as a speaker or a writer, he will remain in the memory of those who knew him as a loyal worker for Socialism.

We extend to his family our deepest and sincere condolence.

V. W. PHILLIPS.

NOTES BY THE WAY

Robbing the Thrifty

Elsewhere in this issue (*Fifty Years Ago*) two contrasting quotations are given, the first relating to the vast army of people who, forty years ago, were dependent on the Poor Law and the second a quotation from Colin Clark about the 1,700,000 now receiving National Assistance. As he says, the so-called Welfare State has done little more than change the name from Poor Relief to National Assistance.

His main point is, however, the way in which Labour and Tory Governments, by steadily raising the cost of living—60 per cent. since 1947—have whittled away the purchasing power of savings and fixed pensions.

"While the social services are handing out benefits to some, the Government, through its financial policy, has been robbing the meagre savings of the humble and the weak and driving them back on to the bread line. Not a record to be proud of."

While this was happening to the humble and weak the rich and powerful had great opportunities for adding to their wealth through the rise of prices of company shares and properties of all kinds. Many great new fortunes have been made under the "Welfare State," while the governments, the Trades Union Congress and the National Savings Committee were preaching thrift to those who could least afford it, and deploring the growth of gambling and football pools.

The Savings Racket in Russia

If the Labour and Tory governments in Britain have whittled away the value of savings by their policy of raising the cost of living, the government in Russia has achieved the same end by much more drastic methods.

In 1947, when they revalued the currency, issuing new currency in place of the old (but much less of it) they cancelled one-third or one-half of all deposits in Savings Banks above 3,000 roubles (about £143), and cancelled two-thirds of the face value of most State bonds. Thus, the worker who had invested £100 found himself owning only £33.

Earlier this year a still more drastic action was taken, particulars of which were given in *Soviet News* (10th April, 1957), published by the Russian Embassy in London. (See also *Economist*, 20th April, 1957.) The announcement was made by Mr. Krushchev. He stated that the total amount of loans outstanding was 260,000 million roubles (about £24,000 million), so that the cost of the tax free lottery prizes paid out on the bonds in place of interest must have been nearly £900 million a year, an amount much bigger than the cost of interest on the British National Debt.

Mr. Krushchev blandly explained that the Russian government has decided to raise no more loans, and as this could not be done "unless the payment of winnings and redemptions on the previous loans was suspended at the same time," the government also proposed "to postpone the payment of winnings for a period of 20 to 25 years." Instead, they would repay the 260,000 million roubles at the rate of about 13,000 million roubles a year (about £1,200 million), but without interest or lottery prizes until the end of 25 years.

Mr. Krushchev did not say that the Russian government was going to do this: they were merely proposing it, and would only carry it out if the Russian workers approved! The same issue of *Soviet News* reported that the Russian workers had approved.

The suggestion of the *Economist* as to the reason for this move is that the size and cost of the debt had become so large (nearly half the annual budget) that it had become "a real burden" on State finances. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer must be envious of his Russian opposite number's freedom of action.

The Elusive "Middle Class" Again

In the *Observer* (1/12/57) Mr. Alan Day had an article on "Inflation and the Middle Classes," discussing whether it is true, as some Tories say, that "the middle classes" have suffered more harshly from inflation than have other people.

He agreed that "one section" have undoubtedly

been badly squeezed—"the pensioners and other retired people living on fixed-money incomes." He also agreed that the same is true of "the elderly working classes," but with the difference that the former have been on a higher standard of living and therefore have farther to fall before they can qualify for national assistance.

Apart from this, Mr. Day believes that the "middle classes" as a whole have not been badly hit, though some of them (he mentions "classics masters" as an example) have suffered because they are less in demand than they used to be. The others have had their salaries raised with the cost of living, though, as Mr. Day points out, it is done with less publicity than the raising of wages of railwaymen, dockers, etc.

But what is of more interest is what Mr. Day means by "middle classes." He deals in the main with people who sell their mental and physical energies, just like dockers, but who call their pay salaries instead of wages. In short, they are members of the working class, and the name "middle class" is inapplicable.

Mr. Day admits this. He confesses that he cannot define the term and writes:—

"The only possible definition is that people are in the middle class when they think they are."

But surely the remedy is too simple. If people can belong to a non-existent class merely by thinking that they belong to it, all they have to do about their problem of low pay is to think that their pay isn't low. Or, since they think the working class are better off, why not think themselves into the working class? Or, better still, why not "think" instead of day-dreaming? Think about capitalism and their working class status in it; then think about Socialism, in which they would be able to live and work as intelligent members of a free society, no longer hag-ridden by notions about class.

One in Ten Americans is a Slum Dweller

Under the above heading the *Daily Mail* reports a survey made in America by the magazine "Fortune."

"To-day, some 17,000,000 Americans live in dwellings that are beyond rehabilitation—decayed, dirty, rat-infested, without decent heat or light or plumbing."

The *Daily Mail* says that, according to the survey, in America's biggest and richest cities like San Francisco, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Houston, the number of people crowding into slums is growing proportionately faster than the population of the city as a whole.

The major reason for the slums is said to be "prosperity itself," because, as jobs are to be had, people come in from small towns and farms, the South, and Puerto Rico.

Horizontal Alcoholics

Many writers have used the theme of a visitor from another planet as a means of taking a fresh look at the imbecilities of our world. Naturally, he cannot see any more or any deeper than his creator and most of the creators, being accepters of the present structure of society, have seen the odd little evils and missed the accustomed big ones. All the same, a visitor from another planet which had a developed capitalist system, and who was blind to the major evils of capitalism, might well blink at some of the crazier activities of official and unofficial legislators and moralisers. A latest example comes from Washington, U.S.A., and was reported in the *Daily Telegraph* (30/11/57).

Because the local legislature believes "that people are liable to drink more standing up," they made a law requiring that people who want to drink in public must do so sitting down.

The local Restaurant proprietors do not like this and want the law repealed. They point out that, to escape the law, drinkers pop over into Maryland, "where they can drink standing up. This means they can escape tipping."

Until some years ago there was another law which ruled that drinks had to be mixed out of sight of the customers, "so that non-drinkers would not be tempted. It was changed when some bartenders were found making Martinis with olives which customers had left in their glasses."

It recalls the Defence Regulation that at one time made it illegal to treat other people to drinks. (Or is it one of those many laws that exist still but are ignored?)

Does the Washington law allow the customers to take their drinks lying down?

New York Stock Exchange and the British Labour Party

The *Daily Herald* in a leading article (25/11/57) smugly reports that the President of the New York Stock Exchange—"no Socialist he"—has borrowed from the British Labour Party the idea of government investment in company shares, for that is what he is advising the American government to do "for small firms that need money to grow bigger."

According to the *Herald* this proves that "the temple of private enterprise in Wall-street" has been forced to go in for "public enterprise," "because it is necessary for the efficiency of industry."

We are not much concerned with the *Herald's* belief that boards of directors will be more efficient and careful when handling government money than when handling shareholders' money, except to say that it is difficult to think of any single reason why it should be so.

What interests us more is that the *Herald* should so easily manage to get the thing upside down. When the temple of capitalism borrows an idea from the Labour Party all it shows is what queer ideas the Labour Party has, and how much the *Herald* has changed since its early days when it would have scoffed at the proposal.

A Straw in the Wind

The General Secretary of the Communist Party, Mr. John Gollan, in his report to his executive committee after his visit to Moscow, referred to the question of "Unity of the Socialist Parties and the Communist Parties." (*Daily Worker*, 2/12/57.)

Mr. Gollan and the British Communist Party will now and for as long as the instruction holds, describe the British Labour Party as a Socialist Party, likewise the Labour parties in other countries. It was not always so. In 1929 the Communist Party's election programme "Class Against Class" had this of the Labour Party:—

"This Party is the third capitalist party. It lays claim to the title of Socialist Party, but has nothing to do with Socialism."

At other times they have called the Labour Party social fascists and similar abusive names. Is it that the Labour Party keeps changing? Not at all. It merely means that the Russian government wants a new tactic to be employed towards the Labour Party so overnight it becomes a "Socialist party." Who knows what it will be called by the end of 1958.

H.

THE MANAGERIAL SOCIETY

Part Three—Fabian Version

MANAGEMENT is a nice neutral word to describe capitalist property relations. It has no harsh ring of class antagonism, no hint of social conflict. The word is greatly in favour with Tories and Labourites. Once Labourites talked about capitalism and even hard-faced capitalists, but that was long ago. Now, according to the new Fabians, capitalism has gone, and capitalists—including the hard-faced ones—have been displaced from power by—Management. Some of the new thinkers now refer to capitalism in the past tense, just as historians refer to Rome or feudalism.

Capitalists without Capitalism

Although capitalism has gone, vide Crosland and others, capitalists still linger on, presumably through sheer inertia. It appears, however, that they are but vestigial survivals in the socio-economic body, like the appendix. Time and the managed enterprise plus State planning will wither them away. Actually it was not the new Fabians who pioneered the notion of a departed capitalism, but an old-time Labourite, Mr. Morrison, who in a more remote past used to talk in an old-fashioned way about the capitalist system. Nevertheless with the return of the 1945 Labour Government—which he regarded as a "victory for Socialism," he declared: "The Labour Party does not propose to abolish the profit motive" (*Observer*, 28/10/46). In the same speech we were told the "new order" would be based on the recognition that "Management must in future recognise Labour as a service and not as a commodity." He added that "this new status of the worker would, however, involve new duties as well as new rights." It may be recorded that, "The victory for Socialism" was unblemished by any attempt of counter-revolution on the part of the capitalists.

To show that by 1948 class antagonism had been abolished, Mr. Morrison in another speech (*Observer*, 14/3/48) assured us that

"The modern worker is or should be a responsible partner in industry . . . knocking at the manager's door with ideas and suggestions."

After that it was easy for Mr. Morrison to define Socialism as

"The assertion of social responsibility for matters which are properly of social concern."

This, of course, is crass confusion. The terms social and Socialism do not mean the same thing apart from the fact that both are derived from society. Anything from the issuing of licences to the supervision of brothels can be of social concern, but they have nothing to do with Socialism, which means the establishment of a social organisation based on free and social access to the agencies of production and distribution.

Enter the New Fabians

After this the new Fabians began to feverishly explore the "new social order" via the New Fabian Essays. Mr. Anthony Crosland, one of the contributors, is certain that capitalism has been abolished. What he isn't certain about is the form of society which has replaced it, so he plumps for calling it "Statism," and it becomes his version of the Managerial Society. All it amounts to is the fact

that vast units of capital and the enlargement of the State's economic functions have replaced the laissez-faire capitalism of the 19th century. But even laissez-faire was not a universal feature of capitalism. The U.S.A., Germany, Italy, Japan, etc., all began as capitalist countries, with marked State intervention, so there must be some feature more fundamental to capitalism than laissez-faire. If, of course, State intervention into the economic life of a country is "Statism," or "Socialism," as the new Fabians hold, then the countries just mentioned have never had capitalism. Such are the startling conclusions drawn from the logic of Mr. Crosland.

It is a Marxist commonplace and acutely analysed long ago by Engels, that the growth of monopoly capital is a logical development from laissez-faire. Thus we can say—capitalism is dead, long live capitalism. If the elastic and highly competitive character of 19th century capitalism led by its very nature to monopolistic forms, this does not mean that competition has been eliminated, but, on the contrary, re-enacted on a vaster scale.

Old Fallacies of New Fabians

Because Crossman, Crosland, Roy Jenkins, Albu, and other Fabians believe, as did old-time Fabians, that State economic activity is Socialism, and because they limit capitalism to mean merely the uninhibited free play of market forces, for them State enterprise and the existence of huge formations of monopolistic and semi-monopolistic capitals is the negation of capitalism. Having restricted the content of capitalism to mean laissez-faire, they see State intervention and government policy entwined with capital interests as the decline and fall of the system. They fail to see that the transformation of 19th century State policy from non-intervention in economic organisation to active participation, was not due to so-called Socialist tendencies, but to the challenge by other powers to England's economic supremacy.

Just as both old and new Fabians have not taken into account the fact that for English 19th century free trade competition there was substituted international competition, in which tariffs and protection were legitimate aids, and for the cut-throat competition of the free market there is substituted the cut-throat competition of the international units of capital. Add to this the colonial policies of the Big Powers, the export of capital and the search for spheres of influence and it is not hard to see how capitalist economics and politics go hand in hand.

Again, it was not socialistic tendencies, but world competition which compelled governments to undertake to subsidise or nationalise those industries whose services and commodities are vital to the needs of the capitalist economy as a whole, i.e., coal, gas, electric power, transport, etc. And the need for State intervention becomes especially urgent where conflicting interests prevent these industries, when privately owned, from carrying out the necessary reorganisation. Again, the necessity of supplying cheap services and facilities for industry as a whole may mean a rate of profit or a slow rate of return unattractive to outside sources of investment or that private funds have ample and more lucrative avenues elsewhere. In that case it becomes necessary for the government to reorganise certain

basic industries essential for the entire economy.

Because Labourites have represented large-scale formations of capital as a development towards Socialism and nationalisation as its stepping-stone, they are forced to maintain that the coalescing of large industry with State enterprise is the virtual elimination of capitalism and its replacement by a managerial system which constitutes the transitional period of Socialism. In such a way has Burnham's theory been Fabianised or paralysed.

The State and the Classes

Although the Fabians have "abolished capitalism" they have not abolished the State. But they say it is no longer the executive committee of one class but "the social instrument of all classes." Thus the army, air force, police, judiciary, etc., are all at the disposal of the working class if and when they care to use them unless, of course, another class wants to use them at the same time. Then one supposes it is a question of priorities. No doubt, when workers are on strike, especially in a big way, they may take note of such useful information.

The Fabians have, however, abolished classes, or almost. Thus Mr. Crossman in a broadcast (August, 1948):—

"In the Marxist sense there is no longer a bourgeoisie only a vestigial group to remind us of its former dominance. There is no more a proletariat in the Marxist sense, only a remnant to remind us of past miseries."

Having eliminated the main division of capitalism, the odds and ends left seem hardly worth classifying, although Mr. Crossman still speaks of classes.

Now many Fabians who criticise Marx at least know someone who has read Marx, or someone who knows somebody who has. But such important sources of information do not seem to be available to Mr. Crossman. Otherwise even he might have known that Marx classified bourgeoisie and proletariat as property owners and those who possessed only their capacities to work. The class structure of capitalism—and this is the essence of capitalism, said Marx—is the division between owners of capital and wage-workers, whose means of livelihood consisted of selling their services to the former. Whether the capitalist is a man of great wealth or only moderately so, or whether the propertyless wage worker—proletarian—receives high or low wages does not determine the social relation which capital owners and employees enter into. It is ownership of means of production which is the basis of capitalist society.

That this division between owners and non-owners, in spite of two Labour Governments and fair shares for all, still holds good, can be statistically verified. The Oxford Institute of Statistics tells us 80 per cent. of capital is owned by 10 per cent. of the population, and that 1 per cent. own half of the entire capital.

Mr. Crossman might even get a few facts about the class division of wealth from some of his Labour cohorts. Writing in the *Sunday Pictorial* (27/11/55), Mr. Wilfred Fienburg, Labour M.P., stated:—

"Let us face it, there ARE two classes in Britain to-day . . . one-tenth owns nine-tenths of the wealth and there are the others, 45,000,000 others, who own practically no wealth at all."

And Professor W. Arthur Lewis writing on the Distribution of Property, *Socialist Commentary*, December, 1955, said:—

"Two-thirds of the private property in this country is

owned by less than 4% of the population. This uneven distribution lies at the root of most of the evils with which Socialists have been concerned in the economic sphere—especially the uneven distribution of income and economic power."

Yet Mr. Crosland calmly asserts:—

"It is no longer true that property relationships determine the distribution of economic power."—(*New Fabian Essays*, page 38.)

Concentration of Wealth

In spite of the fact that, according to the new Fabians, capitalism is going or is gone, the concentration of wealth into fewer hands is still a marked phenomenon of this "non-capitalist society." In fact, Mr. Bevan, a fellow-member of the same party as Mr. Crosland says:—

"Even among the wealthy classes the concentration of wealth in the upper layers is disturbing—200 companies out of 176,000 in Britain take more than a quarter of all profits. A little over 1% take 60% of the profits."—(*Reynolds News*, 15/5/55.)

While Margaret Hall on "Monopoly Policy" in *The British Economy* (p. 422), says:—

"By the mid-twentieth century the concentration of economic power was accepted as the normal evolution of the advanced capitalist systems."

So, in spite of the fact that, according to some of the new Fabians there has been a dispersal of wealth and economic power, there has been no dispersal in ownership. Neither has Mr. Crosland's non-capitalist society altered the trends of the concentration of capital.

The Mixed Economy

The mixed economy, as it is called by "the new thinkers" to describe extant capitalism is supposed to be the British way of effecting a happy compromise between capitalism and Socialism. It is neither happy nor a compromise. Actually, over nine-tenths of manufacture, building, trade, and finance is privately owned and the remainder of State enterprise—power and railways—are themselves, as we have said, economic appendages to private enterprise. Even people like Mr. Morrison have never envisaged the mixed economy as more than a two-tenths State industry and eight-tenths private industry. Thus the mixed economy has a whisky and soda flavour. Mostly the spirit of private enterprise and a dash of nationalisation to take off the raw edge—but hardly a mixture.

Propaganda Value of the Managerial Society

The concept of a Managerial Society seeks to soft-peddle working class resentment and feeling in the struggles over the division of wealth. Now, the bloated, top-hatted, cigar-smoking capitalist of old-style Labour cartoons has been faded out. Instead we have managers who, though they seek profits, are really interested in the skills and techniques of management and who, unlike the capitalists, are workers, a special kind of worker, but still workers, and between one section of workers and other sections of workers there should be a general unanimity of interests, not conflict. Under the old capitalist society it was division and struggle. Under the managerial set-up it is, or should be, co-operation and collaboration, and if vide Mr. Crosland we might not be "all Socialist now," we are at least all workers now.

In this way have the new Fabians presented the Managerial Society or, as they alternatively call it—British Socialism.

E. W.

THE GREAT WHITE ELEPHANT

Advertising in Modern Life

WHEN they talk of the marvels of modern times and the loftier race that welfare reforms have brought to being, it is interesting to browse through the ads. in the papers and the television channel. Here, dress-suited prigs sit amid fake period furniture eulogizing cheap tinned soup; pasty youths sip their tonics and slick their hair in hopes of catching the boss's eye; fagged-out, rushed and noise-ridden people by the score swallow pellets and powders by the ton for the noise and rush to continue. Here, in fact, is as great an indictment as could be made of civilization in the mid-twentieth century.

Pure and simple, advertizing is salesmanship: convince the man and he buys your goods. In 1788, tooth-paste makers were claiming that their stuff would "fatten fuch as are loofe, keep fuch as are already decayed from becoming worfe, prevent the Tooth ach, perfectly cure the Scurvy in the Gums . . . likewise render the Breath delicately fweet, and remedy all thofe diforders that are the confequence of fcorbutic Gums and bad Teeth." Sixty years ago the most popular soap powder was boosted as "possessing high detergent properties in a concentrated and effective form. Cleanses without injury to skin, fabric or texture."

It has long ceased to be as simple as that. Then—sixty years ago, a hundred and seventy years ago—you could take it or leave it. Now, to leave it is impossible (except for the blind and the recluse). The advertizing man is no longer a huckster seeking new additions, one by one, to the satisfied buyers of Bloop. His aim is whole social groups, even whole generations, for whom life without Bloop would hurt or be shameful. He is sociologist, psychologist, con-man, poet and maker of dreams, with nowhere private and nothing inviolate to him—not the innermost thought nor the smallest room.

There are a hundred means to this assault on social consciousness. Appealing to snobbery and prestige: it is smart to drink this, superior to smoke those. Linking prestige with pride in home or person: clean your home the modern way—and surely you don't still shave with the old soap-and-brush method? Evoking authority with tit-bits of pseudo-science, or vague references to clinical knowledge: the hair is a tube with roots, the intestines are twenty-six feet long, doctors and nurses know all about Blobbo.

The cornerstones of most advertising, however, are Fantasy and Fear. The strip-drawn advertisements for cosmetics, beauty soaps, beverages, and the rest, are explicit, deliberate fantasies of romance or success. In the best-known of them all, the strips are peopled by an entire mythology of seemingly real characters: masterful executives, paragon wives and paternal fathers and, of course, the family doctor, benign and wise, sitting back recommending the hot drink that will send Henry bounding up the ladder of success. Or there is the fantasy in prose and a single picture, setting forth a desirable world with which buying some product will somehow put one in touch. Drink Crossbread's, and you commune with Old England, oak beams and dray horses; or Washington's, to be in spirit among the big-thighed footballers and six-hitting batsmen; open an account at the Lowland and enter the

semi-detached realm of bowler hats and deference, cheque-books and U-conversations with the Manager.

And there are the sexual fantasies, the dreams of allure, enticement and capture. First shy glances drawn by white soap, first embraces made inoffensive by pink soap; erotic spells cast by shampoos, face creams and cheap perfumes with expensive names (*Nuit dans l'Ecurie*, one-and-three). Dreamiest, most voluptuous of all are the corset and underwear advertisements, with their *Vie Parisienne* pictures and their lyrical lore:—

"The line forms . . . in at your waist,
With a gentle lift of pride up there.
Dance Time, new summer guile . . .
With padded undercupps,
And low-hugging Lastex round your back. . . ."

It is wrong to suppose, however, that the sales depend only on those who can share these fantasies. Equally, they set standards for the rest. For every girl who daydreams enslaving Fred by Gluggo, another girl fears the consequences of not using it. The advertisements, in fact, make the consequences clear; before the happy ending to the strip a wise friend takes Jean aside and tells her why Fred avoids her.

This is one kind of fear played up by the ads.; fear of social or matrimonial failure. It hardly needs building-up, in a world of perpetual insecurity where most people know only too well that jobs and sweethearts are easily lost. There is fear of disgrace (someone isn't using Pungo—see the offending noses wrinkle); fear of general inadequacy, of being talked about for remediable failings. This is the secret of the great soap-powder campaigns of recent years. In terms of competition, one may wonder how much is achieved by persuading housewives to change from Diz to Duz, particularly when both are produced by the same firm; but that isn't the real point. The effect of seven years' competitive insistence that each soap powder washes whiter, adds brightness, is whiter of all, is whiter and brighter than white itself, has been to make whiteness a social value, something which no woman dare neglect for fear of censure and shame.

The strongest theme of all is fear of harm or deprivation to loved ones. Somebody's *mum* isn't using Gippo; somebody's baby girl has to ask if the jakes has been made safe for her with Fizz. The wake-up beverages play heavily on this, too; tiredness threatens a man's income just when his daughter has won her scholarship or his widowed mother looks to him for help. It is wrong to sneer at this kind of fear and say people shouldn't be taken in by it. Nobody wants to be lonely or unpopular, still less to have his children deprived of companionship or opportunity. The advertisers find their material in natural, sensible feelings which are whipped into fears because our world is an insecure and frustrating place.

In a buying-and-selling society, the realm of advertising is unlimited. It goes far beyond the hoardings, the advertisement pages and the television commercials. Thus, in any woman's magazine, where half the space is taken up by advertisements, much of the remainder goes the same

(Continued on page 9)

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

JANUARY



1958

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

PROFIT AND PUBLIC SERVICE

ONE of the tragedies of misplaced enthusiasm and wasted effort has been the campaign for nationalisation. The earliest advocates could be divided into two groups, those who thought that State concerns are more efficient than private companies and who had no interest in anything else; and those who wanted to replace capitalism by Socialism and who thought that the centralised organisation of State industries would make it easier to introduce Socialism. The latter (Keir Hardie, for example) did not think there was any other merit in nationalisation. They did not think that it was itself Socialism or that it would benefit the workers.

But that was a long while ago. Since then the idea got around that nationalisation would be good for the workers and a good vote-catcher for Labour candidates. And this slipped imperceptibly into the idea that nationalisation is Socialism and would solve all problems. It was supposed to be based on the principle of "public service" not profit.

Now we have seen the nationalised undertakings in operation under laws passed by the Labour Government. We see them being run on methods hardly distinguishable from those of any large private company. The law requires them all to be run to make a profit, so the nationalised Railways close down branch lines which do not pay, ignoring the inconvenience and hardship caused to the local population; fares, coal prices, electricity and gas, etc., charges, are raised just like other prices. Workers' wage claims are resisted, strikes occur, and from time to time miners and others are prosecuted for breach of contract.

Disappointed about this, some workers have thought that the trouble is due to having the wrong people in

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD January, 1958

control of the nationalised industries, not recognising that whoever is in control the Nationalisation Acts impose the same obligation to make a profit.

A recent example is the ex-miner Sir James Bowman, Chairman of the National Coal Board. In evidence to a Parliamentary Select Committee he complained that the Board is in an ambiguous position in that their freedom of commercial action is limited by obligations placed on them by the Government. In particular, the Board is prevented from selling coal at the higher prices they think they could get if given a free hand. He said:—

"It would not be a bad thing if you were just to say to the Coal Board—and how I would welcome it!—'From now on you are free to act as a commercial concern.' Then I think, we might be able to show some different results."

"But full employment might suffer, and British industry would not be subsidised with the price of coal at the level it is at the moment, compared with what we can get abroad." —(Daily Telegraph, 30/11/57.)

He added that if given a free hand the Board could show "tremendous profits." It all comes back to the elementary truth that you cannot have Socialist industries under capitalism. Sir J. Bowman is a man doing the job required of him, making the Coal Board a profitable, State capitalist concern.

No other method is possible under capitalism: the assumed alternative of running the industry at continuous heavy losses would merely lead to a demand either for reorganisation, so that profit would be made or a demand for selling back to private companies.

Going in for nationalisation in the belief that it would be a step to Socialism, was a false move. It has not achieved anything. It never had the support of the Socialist Party.

AN APPEAL FOR DONATIONS

During recent months the income of the Party has been below expenditure and an attempt is now being made to rectify the position.

Almost every item of the Party's expenditure has increased, postage, stationery, rates, Hall hire, advertising, printing, and numerous other items have increased in cost. If we continue to spend at the present level with no appreciable increase in income, a serious position will arise in 1958.

Whilst there will be an increase in revenue from the increased price of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, we shall not benefit from this for some months.

It is evident that we require monies for all activities, including indoor propaganda, Provincial propaganda tours, new pamphlets, advertising, and Parliamentary activity. As our sole income is from members and subscribers, it is again to you that we address our appeal for funds.

The present political situation and the innumerable problems of Capitalism have thrown a heavier responsibility on the Party. We must therefore always be in a position to maintain and enlarge our Organisation. Lack of funds severely hamper us, so please give what you can.

We are all looking forward to the time when appeals will be unnecessary; at the moment, however, they are very necessary. Donations should be sent to E. Lake, at 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

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THE GREAT WHITE ELEPHANT—continued from page 7

way: fashion pages, beauty articles, stories grounded in the same dream-world as the adverts. The same applies for most magazines and papers. Holiday guides, technical pieces, the Christmas spirit; even the chit-chat about a personality may be, indirectly, advertisement of what he sells.

What are the effects of all this? There is, of course, the known influence of advertisers on the Press. Large-circulation papers draw about half their revenue from advertisements, the smaller-circulation ones about two-thirds; half a page in the *Daily Express* costs £3,000. It would be surprising if newspapers did not defer to their advertisers' interests. Mainly the influence is indirect, a standing deterrent to certain kinds of criticism: "A newspaper that receives a large revenue from company prospectuses may have an unconscious bias in favour of our present financial system; and the paper carrying frequent advertisements of patent medicines may, without any conscious deviation from rectitude, give too little weight to the medical profession's views on such goods. A famous editor has, indeed, written unashamedly of 'such needless folly as putting the report of a fatal motor smash alongside of a motor advertisement'" ("The Newspapers," *Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs*, 1944.)

Occasionally, more direct pressure has been brought to bear. An ex-editor of the *Daily Herald* stated that his paper's policy during the Munich crisis was modified on account of the advertisers. In 1938, a British Medical Association advertisement, headed "Is All Milk Safe?" had to be modified to avoid prejudice to the milk industry's campaign. In his *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, Paul Blanshard gives several instances of coercion by advertisers in the U.S.A. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think (as some people seem to do) that newspapers would be substantially different without this influence; after all, the newspapers support capitalism and the advertisers are the capitalists.

The social effects of advertising go much further. Implicit in all of it is the commercialising of every human relationship: people are valued in terms of their possessions and buying habits, the dentifrice they use, the gleam of their shirts. In this world, as E. S. Turner remarks in his amusing *Shocking History of Advertising*, "loyalty means always buying the same hair oil. . . . A bride is not a young woman on the edge of a great adventure; she is a conditioned consumer, who, by buying the right cosmetics and the right brassiere has captured her man." A generation ago, How to Win Friends and Influence People was the salesman's obsession; now, it is the customer's.

Half-a-dozen minor revolutions in social consciousness—none of them making anyone better off—have been effected or assisted by advertising. The whiteness-phobia,

the speed-craze, the conception of beauty and, newest of these, the odour-phobia. In recent times the deodorant business has extended its target from bad breath and strong perspiration to skin smells, cooking smells, "sudden smells" and vegetable smells. It seems on the cards, in fact, that in a few years all natural smells will have been outlawed and abolished, and nothing will be left except the scents of disinfectant and furniture polish. What is worth mentioning about the odour-ads. is that they are easily the lowest, nastiest and most objectionable of all advertisements at the moment (and that, by the way, is really saying something): where, one wonders, are the good taste and culture of which the capitalist class—and, no doubt, the artists and copywriters, too—has always claimed so much?

The supreme social myth to-day, and the one which runs through all advertising of the last ten years, is that of "standards of living." Most symbolic of it, currently, is the cigarette advertisement which says "I'm raising my living standard"—by changing to a slightly dearer brand; though this writer's favourite is the television commercial where the woman spreads a margarine-and-paste tea for her family, standing in a five-hundred-pound kitchen. Perhaps the most explicit of all is the American advertisement (quoted by Colin McIver in *The Anatomy of Advertising*), which says:—

"I know my husband loves me.

"As surely as I know the sky is blue, that dreams come true, that to-day is my birthday . . . that surely do I know my husband loves me.

"The soft gleam of our very own Gorham Sterling tells me he is thinking of me as wife, mother, hostess—dreaming and planning for our future together."

Modern advertising is the folklore (nursery rhymes and all—hear the children sing the ad-men's jingles) of the "standards of living" age. It would be funny if it were not so tragic. While the success of a marriage is judged in Gorham-Sterling terms, the collapse of marriage is a major social problem; while people in to-day's hire-purchase paradise see themselves as far, far better off than ever before there are far, far more social difficulties than ever before. For all that has to be said about advertisements, the real criticism is of the society whose values and failures they reflect. Is there any substantial difference between the German general who said "Guns before butter" and the rest of the world which puts commercial before human needs?

The only sensible way to organise society is for the satisfaction of human needs—that is, on the basis of ownership by everybody of the means of life and access for everybody to everything there is. No advertisements, of course, in such a world; only then, in fact, would the fine, rich wood of humanity flourish free from the dark, parasitic trees of commercialism.

ROBERT COSTER.

G. D. H. COLE AND HUNGARY

Glasgow, N.W.

8/8/57.

Sir,—In the *New Statesman* on 20th April, 1957, in an article headed "Hungary is the Test," G. D. H. Cole gave an interpretation of the *Communist Manifesto*. After dealing with the *Communist Manifesto*, he states: "If this vision of contemporary and of coming society were true, it followed that, from the standpoint of the exploited class, correct, and therefore right, behaviour was simply that

which would help to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. Whatever would further the cause of world proletarian revolution was historically correct conduct, and therewith morally right. . . . It was therefore justifiable and necessary for the proletariat to use any method and to take any action that would help it towards victory over its class-enemies; and all squeamishness about such matters was entirely out of place. . . . The Soviet Union forces, in overrunning Hungary and suppressing the so-called Hun-

garian 'counter-revolution' were acting in strict accordance with this principle. . . . Any country that rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of parliamentary government thereby ranges itself in the camp of the enemies of the revolution. . . . The logic of this position can be assailed only by those who reject the foundations on which the entire structure of Communist ideology rests."

Does the S.P.G.B. agree that the interpretation of the *Communist Manifesto* given by G. D. H. Cole is correct? If not, wherein is the interpretation mistaken?

Yours, etc.,

D. ANDERSON.

REPLY

We do not agree with G. D. H. Cole's interpretation of the *Communist Manifesto*, and the latter certainly does not subscribe to the view that "any country that rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of parliamentary government thereby ranges itself in the camp of the enemies of the revolution." By "Parliamentary Government" we take it Mr. Cole means parliamentary action. Let us see what the *Manifesto* has to say on this point. The paging is from our edition of the *Manifesto*.

"The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of its means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs tariff."—(Page 64.)

"The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself."

"But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians."—(Page 66.)

"This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently, into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten-hours' Bill in England was carried. . . ."

"The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education; in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie."—(Page 69.)

"Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."—(Page 78.)

"We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."—(Page 79.)

The Russian Revolution, from its inception, has never been concerned with "winning the battle of democracy." Although it has borrowed Marxian phraseology, suitably amended, it has, in fact, been a capitalist revolution and has followed capitalist imperialist methods, of which its attitude in Hungary is an example. Like the French Revolution, it has inscribed on its banners, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," and, like the French Revolution, these words have meant freedom for one group to oppress and exploit another; and like the French Revolution the people at the top engage in internecine struggles to annihilate one another.

G. D. H. Cole misses the fundamental facts and is misled by the phraseology.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

UPSET IN ACCRA

Dr. Nkrumah Disappoints his Friends

COLONEL PEWTER is a cartoon-strip Edwardian pukka-sahib who daily amuses readers of the *News Chronicle*. In his latest adventure he uses an Injun stick, which magically compels its victims to tell the truth in order to upset the party propaganda in a by-election. The whole joke, of course, is that nobody ever expects a politician to describe himself as other than a selfless, devoted slave to the voters' interests.

Perhaps that is why so many eyebrows were raised when Mr. Krobo Edusei, Minister of the Interior in the new African State of Ghana, was reported as saying that he loved power. Had the man gone mad? Or was he just telling the truth? Worse, this outburst was only one of several newsworthy actions by the Ghanaian Government. Journalists and political opponents have been deported, opposition leaders have said that they are under threat of imprisonment and death, and it has been reported (and later denied) that ministers would in future carry revolvers. Mr. Fenner Brockway, the Labour M.P., who can usually be relied on to support nationalist movements in ex-colonial territories, has publicly expressed regret and protest at these actions. He put it all down to an evil genius at the ear of Ghana's Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. But that is too easy; we must look a little more deeply into the history and the background of it.

The Modern Story

The first explorers of Africa named parts of the coast by the wealth they found there. There was the Grain Coast, the Slave Coast and, roughly bordering the area which is now Ghana, the Gold Coast. The modern story begins in the 15th century, when European traders, coming from countries which were desperately short of gold, found the precious stuff in common use among the Gold Coast natives. (Three hundred years later William Bosman, who worked for the Dutch West India Company, could still write of the natives of Dinkira, "They are possessed of vast Treasures of Gold, besides what their own mines supply them with;"). At first the Portuguese dominated the trade, but soon the Danes, Dutch, French and Germans came, and in 1553 Thomas Windham led the first English party. None of the expeditions tried to penetrate the interior; they only wanted to establish trading forts along the coast. Gold was not the only attraction, for there were plenty of slaves to be branded and shipped to the Americas and to the Middle East. This last journey was terrible indeed, involving a trek across the Sahara desert. And there was every incentive to mutilate the slaves, to satisfy the great demand for eunuchs in the Middle Eastern palaces. The slave traders thought that Allah was being kind if ten out of a hundred survived the operation.

The English settlements date from 1651, when the English Trading Company built the first of several ports. In 1672 the Royal African Company commenced operations, building other trading stations, and later the African Company of Merchants carried on trade in gold and slaves until they were crippled by the abolition of slavery in 1807. Life in these settlements was a precarious business—Bosman has described the "excessive tipping and sorry feeding" among the Europeans, which made "most of the Garrison look as if they were hag-ridden," and the "odious Mixture of noisome Stenches" from the coastal villages.

Inter-Tribal Wars

As the mercantile adventurers of the 16th and 17th centuries grew bolder, sailing out to America and the Far East, European interest in Africa declined and most of the trading settlements along the Gold Coast were left to decay. It was not until the American War of Independence had been won and lost and Great Britain was established in India and Australia, that Africa, lying between England and her Far Eastern possessions, regained its importance. The 18th and 19th centuries were years of inter-tribal wars, mostly between the Fante and the Ashanti. Great Britain kept a traders' neutrality, which did not preclude the occasional double-cross. After one famous betrayal, which caused some native chiefs to be tortured and killed, the torturing chief remarked that he thenceforth took the English for his friends, ". . . because I saw their object was trade only, and they did not care for the people." The chaos of these wars almost caused the British Government to withdraw from the territory, but the commercial interests prevailed on them to stay put, to unify the command of the trading forts, stamp out the slave trade and develop the Gold Coast's mineral and agricultural possibilities. Thus, in 1821 the British Government took over the operations of the African Company of Merchants and in 1844 signed a Bond with several local chiefs, which recognised Queen Victoria's jurisdiction and laid it down that ". . . the first objects of law are the protection of individuals and property." In 1850 they winkled out the Danes and in 1871 the Dutch. Thus also, any missionary who undertook to spread the word of Christianity and British "law and order" among the natives of the interior was assured of the benevolent protection of English arms. They did not leave it all to the missionaries; right up to 1900 British soldiers were fighting against the natives in the interior in defence of the commercial and strategic interests along the coast.

Ghana Arise

The two world wars sharply emphasised the importance of Africa strategically and as a source of vital raw materials—in particular the last war saw a tremendous development of the Gold Coast's airfields, harbours and internal communications. The need for self-sufficiency caused independent local industries to be built up. This, with the war's expanded social intercourse, promoted the Gold Coast's political development and the inevitable demand for independence from British rule. In 1951 the Gold Coast legislature for the first time represented all the territory's inhabitants, voting in secret ballot. The elections of 1951 and 1954 were won by the Convention People's Party (CPP), whose leader, Dr. Nkrumah was brought from jail to fill the newly-created post of Prime Minister. The CPP stood on a programme of independ-

ence from British rule and when they won a third overwhelming victory in the 1956 elections, Whitehall agreed to the inevitable. At midnight on 5th March, 1957, the Gold Coast ceased to exist and the State of Ghana took its place. A new national anthem—*Ghana Arise*, by Hector Hughes, a British Labour M.P.—was substituted for *God Save the Queen*.

The country which Dr. Nkrumah took over has a population of 4½ millions, most of them Africans and pagans. The economy is heavily dependent on cocoa farming, which, said Finance Minister Gbedemah, dusting off a cliché, is ". . . the life-blood of this country." (Ghana turns out 30 per cent. of the world crop.) The Government are uneasy about this dependence on a primary produce industry, so vulnerable to world economic changes. There is a heavy tax on cocoa farming, which is invested in other fields; there is also a tax relief for those who finance "pioneer" industries. So far these measures have not had much effect and Ghana's prosperity still varies with the price which Cadbury and Fry, Ltd., the United Africa Company, and the like, have to pay for cocoa on the world market.

Betrayed Hopes

Ghana also has substantial deposits of gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite. Most of the gold and diamonds, mined by companies incorporated in the United Kingdom, are sent to London. The manganese deposits, as an ingredient to steel production, are becoming increasingly important. Bauxite is mined by the British Aluminium Company, who are interested in the prospect of damming the Volta River to generate electricity for smelting the bauxite into aluminium. Although Great Britain takes nearly one-half of her exports, Ghana is anxious to attract any foreign investment. Because of this the Government will take no sides in current Great Power conflicts; Dr. Nkrumah had said, ". . . Ghana . . . should not be aligned with any group of Powers or political blocs."

The first signs that Ghana was going to betray the hopes of its friends came when Dr. Nkrumah appeared to be fostering his own little personality cult, by having his head stamped on the new coinage and going to live in Christiansborg Castle which, as the old residence of Danish and British governors, is heavy with unpleasant memories. Then came the expulsions and a Special Bill to allow Mr. Edusei to deport two men without the right of appeal. The municipal councils of Accra and Kumasi were suspended and so was the chief of the 300,000 Akim Abuakwa tribe. Several members of the opposition were kidnapped and from the other side, a plot to assassinate Dr. Nkrumah was alleged. In this hysterical atmosphere, it seemed, Africa's immaculate embryo democracy had been born a deformed dictatorship.

The truth of the matter is that last March saw the end of Nkrumah's days of agitation and faced him with the realities of power over a country which is trying to make its way in the capitalist world. The first reality was a staggering fall in the price of cocoa, so that the first budget was chillingly austere and the Ghanaian workers were told that it would be unpatriotic to ask for higher wages. They had expected better than this from Nkrumah; a national transport strike was called and rioting broke out in Accra. Another difficulty is that Nkrumah is struggling to establish government on modern capitalist lines and to stamp out the old system of tribal rule. These stresses have caused

quarrelling within the government. To clean the matter up a strong-arm policy has been tried, with Mr. Edusei, known in Ghana as the Minister of Noise, to apply it.

Settling Down

It seems that things are now settling down. The cases against the journalists have been dropped and the Emergency Powers Bill, published at the beginning of November, was much easier than expected. The government was probably getting worried about reactions in the countries which would supply the necessary development loans and of the old-established foreign firms, who have kept their interests in Ghana. The opposition groups, formerly diverse, have united and almost certainly will emerge as

an alternative administration. These are all strong checks upon extreme government action. In any case, there is no good reason why Nkrumah's misdeeds should cause such a fuss in quarters which accepted, among other things, the deportations from Cyprus and Uganda and the deposing of the popularly elected government of British Guiana. Nor does it end in London. America has recently altered the constitution of the occupied island of Okinawa to get rid of a troublesome Mayor. Dr. Nkrumah's is only one of a number of distasteful policies and should be seen in its perspective. It will be forgotten long before the world stops remembering the French in Algeria and the Russians in Hungary.

IVAN.

THAT £75,000 "PIE IN THE SKY"

"And that inverted bowl we call the sky,
Whereunder, crawling, coopt—we live and die,
Lift not your hands to it for help,
For it rolls impotently on, as thou or I."

Of all the "carrots" that have been dangled before the credulous eyes of the working class (as a loophole for the individual escapist from wage-slavery) the £75,000 Treble Chance Pools craze certainly takes the proverbial "biscuit."

Look in any G.P.O. any Friday during the football season and the sight of the queues of budding entrepreneurs for emancipation, feverishly filling in coupons and buying endless postal drafts, is enough to gladden the heart of any government bondholder, let alone the Pools firm's shareholders.

The giddy idea is to forecast eight draws in one column from about 54 matches—despite the odds against same being in the region of several millions to one.

Capitalism is certainly the gambling system par excellence—from the glittering casinos of Monte Carlo and the Riviera (to say nothing of the fashionable English, Continental and American race meetings) where patrons—drawn from the parasitical "elite" of the international capitalist class—"relieve" their ennui frittering away some of the "filthy lucre" filched from the international working class via the medium of the wages robbery system.

On the other hand, the small-town back-alley dog tracks or the slot-machine craze of Las Vegas, where the lure of the "Almighty Dollar" is too much for working class flesh and blood—writhing under a frustrating poverty-ridden system of society—to withstand.

Certainly a few may hit the "Jack Pot" and deliver themselves from bondage, but, for the vast majority, defeat is inevitable and the slough of despair under capitalism is a "bottomless pit."

"Let Not Ambition Mock Their Useful Toil"

By and large, trying to emulate a Lipton or a Nuffield or to "Win the Pools" is merely a form of procrastination on the part of those who produce the wealth of the world and in whose hands lies the future welfare of society as a whole.

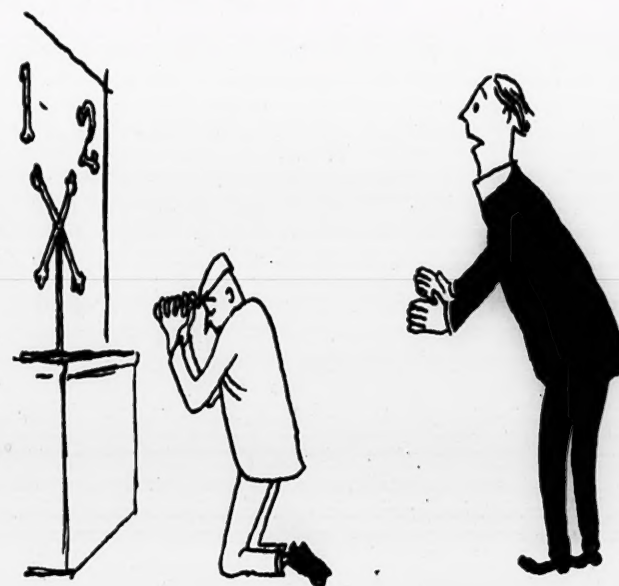
Instead of being "led up the garden path" by the "success" propagandists of capitalism or by the social bait of a chimerical £75,000 and allowing their life span to "slip through their fingers," struggling in corner shops,

offices, mills, mines and factories, trying to get a foot on the proverbial "bottom rung"—the workers of the world should "support" their own "horse," which is entered in the "race" for their emancipation—the Socialist Party—which has a "ton" in hand of the "opposition" and with their class conscious support can achieve the Socialist Revolution.

As it is, the years roll on and capitalism is still our unwelcome companion, spreading the diseases of Nationalism, Commerce and Religion, together with the eternal "success" phantasy ad nauseum to ourselves and our children. Confusion enough when it comes to educating them for their real social responsibility—the organisation and achievement of Socialism. Be that as it may, the world organisation for Socialism, with 53 years' "spade" work behind it and equal to the task which lies ahead, will not be found wanting when the mighty organism of the world-wide working class shakes off its political confusion and sallies forth to claim its social heritage—a place in the Socialist "sun."

Finally, and using Thoreau's words—"As in the long run man only hits what he aims at, he better aim high"—let us make our "target" nothing short of revolutionary scientific Socialism, from which we can all reap a richer and socially more satisfying "harvest" than any improbable parasitical "successful entrepreneur" existence within the profit system.

G. R. RUSSELL.



KEEP AN EYE ON SPAIN

"On October 12th in Washington the Spanish Ambassador gave a Columbus Day reception to which Soviet diplomats were invited for the first time. The Ambassadors of Poland and Czechoslovakia were also present."
—(Manchester Guardian, 12/11/57.)

One evening in 1951 our Branch-room was filled to overflowing. The London correspondent of the official Yugoslav News Agency, Tanjug, was vainly attempting to defend the proposition that Yugoslavia is a Socialist country. A Hackney comrade, known for his bluntness, asked what our visitor's reactions would be if it ever should suit his Government to sip champagne with Franco as Molotov had done with Ribbentrop, betokening the switch from enemy to friend and the desire to inaugurate trading and to co-operate militarily. His retort was an impassioned denial of such a possibility at any time in the future and resentment at the very suggestion. Of course our comrade's question was born of a whole history of switched alliances between the nations of the modern world. Each Nation-state represents a privileged and powerful minority who owe their position to their direct (private) or indirect (state) ownership of industry and wealth. In a world competing for export markets, supplies of the raw materials necessary for industrial production and strategically placed war bases, every participant in the world economy is a potential enemy of every other, though each will try to sink as many differences as possible with as many countries as possible so as to present a stronger "front" in the course of the struggle against the rest. It is the interests of the capitalist class in the particular situation which basically decide who is friend and who is foe.

Sputnik Scientists in Barcelona

Six years have passed. The course of events has once again shown the correctness of the Socialist contention that it is not sentiment nor is it high principle but the desire for trade and power that motivates the ruling class of each country. Actually, latest reports from Spain go one better. There are all the signs of at least a partial "rapprochement" between Franco Spain and the Kremlin itself. Fortunately for him, our adversary of that evening six years ago does not have the responsibility of answering for the new situation. He wisely departed from the field of journalism and as far as we know has refrained from returning to his native country. How would he view this latest development? First the game of football against a Spanish team in Belgrade. Then a return match though there are still no diplomatic relations between Spain and any of the East European countries. Russian technologists freely participated in the recent Barcelona Geophysical-year Conference and already Franco can say in connection with the Sputnik, "We have to face up to the fact that we are living under the sign of the Soviet earth satellite. The old Russia could not have launched the satellite; it could only happen in the new Russia. Great enterprises call for unity, discipline, authority. . . ." (News Chronicle, Wed. 30/10/57).

For the first time under the Franco regime Spanish newspapers reproduced the front page of the Russian "Pravda," dealing with the satellite. "Never before" said the Guardian correspondent "had the press been

allowed such freedom to play up things Russian." Manchester Guardian, 12/11/57).

Trade goes on

We have known for some considerable time that trading between these supposedly irreconcilable enemies, the "Christian Gentlemen of Spain" and the "Atheistic Reds" had been going on. At least three years ago bananas, which are quite a luxury in Russia, were finding their way from the Spanish Canary Islands to the Soviet bloc via Switzerland. The traditional Spanish export of saffron to rice-eating China, communist or otherwise, has steadily continued. The News Chronicle article quoted above reports the recent arrival of several Russian delegations to Madrid. This has not been reported in the censored Spanish press as it will no doubt require some little time to recondition the public's attitude to Russia. There is talk of some sort of Russo-Spanish agreement over the gold reserves which, it is claimed, were handed over to the Russian Bank by Negrin, the Prime Minister, at the fall of the Republic, for safe keeping. Russia has insisted up till now that the gold was but a partial payment for debts incurred by the Republic when buying Russian arms. Other East European countries are also involved in the development of trade with Spain. The following is reprinted by the Manchester Guardian (12/11/57):—

"Spain is negotiating \$25 millions trading with East Germany. Spanish negotiators are in contact with Czechoslovak Government officials. There are direct trade relations with Poland."

Calculated Risk

Moscow also took a bold step by recently repatriating several thousand Spanish and Basque refugees, many of whom, having gone there as children as long ago as 1938, and spent almost all their lives and had their education there. Quite a lot of them returned with Russian wives (in itself quite a concession!) and almost all brought back household goods now being mass produced in the U.S.S.R. Khrushchev must have thought long before permitting so many disgruntled people to return to the West though he probably counted on Spanish working class conditions being such that the comparison between life in both countries would favour industrialised Russia, notwithstanding the flamenco singing so eagerly lapped up by the tourists on the Costa Brava.

Pumping Uncle Sam

It would seem that Franco, the most long lived dictator bar neighbouring Salazar of Portugal, "Britain's oldest ally" is taking a leaf out of dictator Tito's book. The U.S. Government may have been taking his alliance too much for granted. How better to prompt further economic "shots in the arm" than to play "hard to get," with the hint that there may be others in the offing? And in case anyone says that Yugoslavia would not necessarily be a party to a Russo-Spanish "rapprochement" who would have thought that the one-time "fascist hyena" Tito would be spending time last month hunting, fishing and shooting with Marshal Zhukov? But then it does not seem to have done Zhukov any good, does it?

EDDIE GLUCKSBERG.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Hemel Hempstead.—Will all those members and sympathisers who live in the Hemel Hempstead area and who are interested in the formation of a group in the area, please communicate with: B. N. West, 44, Adeyfield Gardens, Hemel Hempstead.

Propaganda.—At the termination of the Speakers' Classes, which have been held by the Propaganda Committee at Conway Hall, six of the twelve members are taking the Speakers' Test and, if successful, will add to the number of official Party speakers to the list and so enable the Propaganda Committee to extend their programme in 1958. The class was most successful and it is to be hoped that arrangements can be made in the near future to run another series.

Films at Head Office.—Although no meetings were held during the last three Sundays in December they will recommence this month, the first being held on January 5th.

Why the B.B.C. does not understand.—On 10th December the Overseas Department of the B.B.C. telephoned the S.P.G.B. and asked to speak to Mr. Gaitskell. When they were told that we are the Socialist Party, and Mr. Gaitskell has nothing to do with us, the clerk who was making the call was astonished. She did not know there is a Socialist Party that is not the Labour Party. If the B.B.C. had not refused for 20 years or more to let the S.P.G.B. put the Socialist case on the air, perhaps the B.B.C. staff would have known that there is a Socialist Party.

Lewisham Branch.—We would like to draw attention to the notice of meetings organised by Lewisham Branch, published in another column. The meetings are held fortnightly on Monday evenings. It is hoped that members will attend and bring along sympathisers and make this venture a success.

Islington Branch have taken over the arrangements for the Tower Hill lunch hour meetings each Thursday. Despite inclement weather, these meetings are being well attended and members who are in the vicinity should try to get along and support the meetings.

"Socialist Standard."—Each January a particular reference is made to the Annual Subscription form for the STANDARD. A form appears in this issue and it is to be hoped that readers will use this and ensure a regular delivery each month.

Tottenham Branch Secretary writes that Comrade T. H. Fowler died in October last. Comrade Fowler was 80 years of age and joined the Party in 1913, regularly attending propaganda meetings and selling literature. He was always a willing helper in the canteen at Party Confer-



ences and socials. Until earlier this year he was an enthusiastic worker. It is with regret that we learn of his death and extend sympathy to his relatives.

Extract from letter from Comrade H. Wheatley, Nottingham:—

"My trade-union, the A.U.B.T.W. makes Free-card presentations on 50 years' membership, and myself being included this year, I screwed up pluck to seek permission to face an audience for the first time: a vote of thanks from the recipients really, a very few words; then used the Union-cards of 50 years ago and to-day as emblems of a deeper and broader outlook, hoping that also applied to each individual member; but 50 years was slow progress with results that still left them fighting old battles repeatedly, pointed out the need to understand the present system, and then realising the identical interests of ALL workers, they must eventually see no reason for division and separate organisations.

After much revision and cutting, I got through two closely packed pages of urging to look to the future (yes, I had to write it—managed better that way) and drew quite an embarrassing applause. Our leaflets were spread over a spare table, and on count just over 25 each were picked up.

Seeing I had avoided naming the 'Party,' I think it speaks volumes for our clear case, that an official should state he soon knew just where I was leading—The S.P.G.B.

The more hopeful side is the 30 or so of working Trade Unionists—and their wives—who probably never heard their position put this way before. An effort to follow up by a S.P.G.B. speaker to address their branch met with the usual coldness—they can't get them in—just pay their dues and depart. This still in mind for further pressure."

P.H.

HAMPSTEAD MEETINGS

at

108c, GOLDHURST TERRACE
(Nr. Finchley Road), N.W.6

Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Jan. 15th "Visit to America"—GILMAC

" 29th "The Next Crisis"—E. WILMOTT

Admission Free. Questions and Discussion.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The **SOCIALIST STANDARD**, **WESTERN SOCIALIST** and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.

SOCIALIST STANDARD SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Detach and forward, with remittance, to Literature Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

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Address

(State, if renewal, or new subscriber)

DOCUMENTARY FILMS at HEAD OFFICE

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comments at H.Q.

52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4.

(near Clapham North Tube Station)

Sunday evenings at 7.30 p.m.

The meeting is then open for questions and discussion which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale. Visitors particularly welcome.

Jan. 5th "Key to Progress"—H. ROSE.

" 12th "United Nations in Korea"—H. BALDWIN.

" 19th "Beginnings of History"—B. ROSE.

" 26th "Art and Socialism"—E. KERSLEY.

Feb. 5th "Industrial Britain"—C. KILNER.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park ... 3.30—5 p.m.

East Street (Walworth) Jan. 5th 1 p.m.

" 12th 11 a.m. & 1 p.m.

" 19th 11 a.m.

" 26th 12 noon

Whitstone Pond (Hampstead) ... 11.30 a.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Finbury Pavement ... Tuesdays
Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.



DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

BRISTOL—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH—Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh

MANCHESTER Sec.: J. M. Breaky, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. 'Phone: DIdsbury 5709.

OLDHAM—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wella Rd., Pencuolgi, Nr. Llanelly

PUBLIC DEBATE

LIBERAL PARTY

v.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

"Which Party should the working class support—The Liberal Party or The Socialist Party of Great Britain?"

For S.P.G.B.—E. CRITCHFIELD

For Liberals—ROY DOUGLAS

UPPER HALL, BETHNAL GREEN TOWN HALL,
CAMBRIDGE HEATH ROAD, E.2.

(Bethnal Grn. Central Line or Buses 6, 170, 555, 557, 653)

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31st at 7.45 p.m.

ADMISSION FREE

LETTERS FROM READERS INVITED

Our Annual Conference in April decided that a section of the SOCIALIST STANDARD be reserved for letters from readers as a regular feature. Readers are invited to send letters of comment and criticism and questions for answer. Letters should be kept as short as possible as space is limited, and the shorter the letters the larger the number that can be printed. EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

PUBLIC DEBATE

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION SOCIETY

v.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

"That Proportional Representation will not help to solve the fundamental problems of the working class."

For S.P.G.B.—EDDIE GLUCKSBERG.

For P.R.S.—JOHN FITZGERALD.

UPPER HALL, BETHNAL GREEN TOWN HALL,
CAMBRIDGE HEATH ROAD, E.2.

(Bethnal Grn. Central Line or Buses 6, 170, 555, 557, 653)

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17th at 7.45 p.m.

ADMISSION FREE

HACKNEY BRANCH — ECONOMICS CLASS

Wednesdays, January 1st, 15th and 29th and fortnightly thereafter at 7.30 p.m.

Bethnal Green Town Hall, E.2.

Tutors: W. Read and E. Wilmott.

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (Jan. 2nd and 16th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., at 7.30 p.m.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Thursdays at 8 p.m., "The Artichoke," Camberwell Church Street. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles. Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m. at 34, St. George's Square, (Wilcox, top flat) S.W.1. All correspondence to Secretary, c/o. H. O., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrook, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E.1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (Jan. 1st, 15th and 29th) at 8 p.m., The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (Dec. 9th and 23rd) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardness Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: A. H. Wood, 84, Millfield Ave., Walthamstow, E.17.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m., Jan. 1st, 15th and 29th 108c, Goldhurst Terrace, (near) Finchley Road, Hampstead, N.W.6.

ISLINGTON Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o. Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. Sec. C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Enquiries to Sec. J. G. Gisleay, at that address.

TOTTENHAM meets 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in month, 8-10 p.m., West Green Library, Vincent Road, West Green Road, N.15. Communications to Secretary, S. Hills 1, Devonshire Road, Tottenham, N.17.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to F. J. Mann, 18 Larchwood Ave., Romford, Essex. Romford 5171.

WICKFORD meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m., "Skara Brae," Farm Crescent, Woodham Road, Battlesbridge, Essex. Enquiries to Secretary, L. R. Plummer.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Thursdays, 7.30 p.m., Stirling House, Stuart Crescent, Wood Green, N.22. Letters to Sec., 118, Pelham Road, Wood Green, N.22.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

LEWISHAM BRANCH MEETINGS

at

DAVENPORT HOUSE,

1, DAVENPORT ROAD, RUSHEY GREEN, CATFORD, S.E.6.

Mondays at 8 p.m.

January 20th "Introducing Socialism"—R.

MacDOWALL.

February 3rd "Socialism and the Labour Party"—
A. IVIMEY.

" 17th "Trade Unions—The Socialist Attitude"—
J. EDMONDS.

March 3rd "The 'H' Bomb"—E. WILMOTT.

" 17th "Food Production and Distribution"—
P. LAWRENCE.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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Bank of England Swindle

No. 642 Vol. 54 February, 1958

A SHABBY "TRIBUNE" STUNT

HERALDING 1984

CRISIS IN INDONESIA

HOUSING IN RUSSIA

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

OLD FAMILIAR FACES

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Canada and Newfoundland

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6

PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS put over so many impudent stunts, made possible by the short memories of the electors, that they understandably grow careless and expect to get away with murder. But surely they cannot perpetrate the same swindle twice in a dozen years? It seems that *Tribune*, "Labour's Independent Weekly," is confident that they can. Its stunt at the end of 1957 was to launch a campaign for the next Labour Government to "take over the Bank of England." Its issue of 20th December, 1957, carried the bold, front-page headline: "Let's Nationalise the Bank of England!" with the sub-heading: "You thought we had done it already? You were wrong."

Who Led the Workers Up the Garden?

As a fact, of course, the Bank was nationalised in 1946 by the Labour Government's "Bank of England Act." So when *Tribune* comes along now and pretends that it wasn't, it is a piece of trickery, designed to cover up the blatant failure of nationalisation to make any difference to the workers. The nationalised Bank is no more popular with the voters than was its privately-owned predecessor under Montague Norman, and *Tribune* is trying to lay the blame for the failure of Nationalisation on other shoulders. But the responsibility rests squarely on the Labour Party, including the group behind *Tribune*, who, as M.P.s or Ministers, fully supported that Act in 1946. It was they who told us what a fine thing it was going to be; an instalment of Socialism, they said. It was they who spoke and voted for the Act and later boasted of its "success" when they fought the next election in 1950. Bevan and Mikardo were two of those who voted for the Act, and neither they nor any others got up, in the House or outside, to say that it was a fraud and would not make a ha'porth of difference to the workers—that was left to the S.P.G.B. to say.

It is only now that *Tribune*, in effect, admits that the Act changed nothing.

Then the story was different. Typical claims made by Labour Ministers and M.P.s (backed by the *Tribune* group) were that the Act had given the Government "undivided control"; which was said to be "helping the Government to maintain full employment and to further economic recovery" (Labour Party, *Speakers' Handbook*, 1949-50, page 115). And: "The Bank is another industry under public ownership which is both serving the national interest and paying its way."

When the Act for Nationalisation was being voted in Parliament the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Dalton, rapturously declared that "it is a model. It will, in due course, make a streamlined Socialist Statute" (House of Commons Report, 29th October, 1945).

"Tribune's" Charges

To the thoughtless reader who has forgotten what happened when the Bank was nationalised *Tribune's* slashing charges may make convincing reading. How telling for *Tribune* to point out that only one of the 18 directors "comes from the trade union movement"; that 15 of them went to those "well-known nurseries of privilege," Winchester, Marlborough, Rugby and Wellington; that "ten of the eighteen spend only a small part of their time at Threadneedle Street. The rest is devoted to running some of Britain's most powerful industrial and financial groups." And is it not true, as *Tribune* says, that these part-time directors, "are bound to think and act as businessmen and there is plenty of doubt whether what is good for capitalism is good for Britain."?

Tribune (20/12/57) publishes the photo's of ten of these part-time directors of the Bank with the caption: "They're all Bank of England directors and City men!"

Fine virile stuff, you think? But it is less than half of the full story. Let us now look at the rest.

What "Tribune" Keeps Dark

Of course it does not really matter whether the men in charge of a capitalist institution came from the coal mine and the elementary school or from Eton and Winchester, but *Tribune* now pretends that it does and the innocent reader may think that the selection of men from those public schools is a nasty Tory plot. But Mr. Dalton, who piloted the Nationalisation Act through the Commons went to Eton, and one of Winchester's proud sons is Mr. Gaitskell, present leader of the Labour Party, whom *Tribune* will be supporting at the next election. And who is responsible for many of the directors being part-timers (as if that mattered either)? The answer is that the provision for part-time directors is in the 1946 Act that the *Tribune* group then supported. And is it true that ten of them have other business and banking interests? Sure it is, but so it was when the Labour Government (including the *Tribune's* idols) appointed the court of governors in the years 1946-1951. Seven of the men now named by *Tribune* (L. J. Cadbury, Sir John Hanbury-Williams, Basil Sanderson, Geoffrey Eley, Lord Kindersley, Michael Babington Smith and Sir Charles Hambro) were actually appointed directors in the first place by the Labour Government—supported by *Tribune*. So that everything that *Tribune* lists as items in the present spurious campaign about the Bank of England was true also in 1946-1951 when *Tribune* was backing the Nationalisation Act and the Labour Government that carried it through. The only change is that then they were promising what great "socialist" benefits it would bring and now the voters don't believe this any more.

Trick in Preparation for the Next Election

Tribune now declares that control of the Bank of England is not in the hands of the Government but is "kept in the hands of a formidable team representing the Minority rent, interest and profit class." They say this is intolerable and must be put right; presumably at the next election.

As we have already pointed out, the existing arrangements were created by the *Tribune* group and the rest of the Labour Party.

But the deception has another angle too. The Labour candidates and M.P.s who backed *Tribune*, fought the 1950 General Election on the Labour Party Declaration of Policy called "Let Us Win Through Together." It contained the following clause:—

"Finance must be the servant and not the master of employment policy. Public ownership of the Bank of England has enabled the Government to control monetary policy. Subject to the will of Parliament, we shall take whatever measures may be required to control financial forces, so as to maintain full employment and promote the welfare of the nation."

So *Tribune* were telling the electors in 1950 that the nationalisation of the Bank of England, already five years old, had "enabled the Government to control monetary policy." Now they say that control is really in the hands of a group of capitalists, yet this very group were put there, as directors of the Bank, by *Tribune's* political friends! And the Labour Government, returned again to power in 1950, kept the same arrangements in being. Now *Tribune* says that the Bank of England is "run by the same old crowd as before," that is by the crowd they put in control! Could humbug go further?

Bits of Socialism

When the Labour Government nationalised the Bank of England the S.P.G.B. stated that it was no concern of the workers and nothing to do with Socialism. *Tribune*, of course, was telling a different tale. Now *Tribune* largely admits the truth of what we said:—

"What has actually happened provides a classic illustration of the failure which follows from the attempt to insert a small element of Socialism into institutions left in capitalist hands—the very doctrine since revived by the Labour Party Executive in *Industry and Society*. The small dose of Socialism is quickly swallowed up in the capitalist mass and nothing is changed."

Of course as a statement of principle this is true, you cannot insert bits of socialism into capitalism, but for *Tribune* to say so is humbug. They were believers in that futility in 1946, are in favour of it now, and will be asking the workers to vote for it (and for the ex-Winchester leader of the Labour Party) when the next election comes.

What is more, the *Tribune* writer takes care to let us know that when he talks about Socialism it is with his tongue in his cheek. If he were a Socialist he would know that Socialism will have no use whatever for the financial, banking, and currency machinery of capitalism, including its central organ the Bank of England. Yet the forefront of his demand on the next Labour Government is that it shall make the directors full-time instead of part-time; as if the difference between the capitalism that we have and the Socialism socialists want, is a question of the number of directorships capitalists shall hold.

If *Tribune* were interested in Socialism it would know that the way the Bank of England is owned, controlled and administered is a concern of the capitalist not of the workers, but *Tribune* couldn't care less.

Here's hoping that at least some of *Tribune's* readers have long memories.

H.

CRISIS IN INDONESIA

TELEVISION, radio and newspapers for several weeks, on and off, have been announcing news from Indonesia: Military Coup in Sumatra, Oil Installations in Rebel Hands, Banks Seized in Indonesia, Take-Over Flags Hoisted, Dutch Alarm Over Communist Threat, Air-Lift for Dutch from Indonesia, Dutch Navy Moves, British Firms Fear Loss of Staff, Sea Claim By Indonesia.

Why the Western Capitalists are worried

Western capitalists with investments in Indonesia are, of course, worried about the seizure of property and investment in Java belonging to the Dutch. While the Western capitalists are prepared to cut one another's throats in the struggle for trade, when there is a threat to their general interests, then they become brotherly. Of a total foreign investment of U.S. \$1,400 million in Indonesia, the Dutch own U.S. \$1,040 millions, the British U.S. \$200, and the U.S.A. \$90 millions. The *Daily Express*, which expresses a viewpoint of some of the capitalists in an editorial column, pressed the British Government to take action against the rebels.

But the map shows the strategic importance of the threat there to Western Capitalism. Indonesia, the sixth largest country in the world as far as population is concerned, consists of a string of islands stretching for 2,000 miles from Northern Australia across the Pacific Ocean to the mainland of Asia. Were Indonesia to fall to rebels favourable to the "Communist" group, the latter would leapfrog S.E.A.T.O. defences, the U.K. Far East Command in Singapore and the Commonwealth Strategic Reserve in Malaya. Forming a barrier between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, it would endanger "Free World" communications. Indonesia is the focal point in the S.E. Asia collective defence system. How the great powers fish in troubled waters is indicated by U.S. aid totalling \$33 million, while the Soviet Union have granted a credit of \$100 million.

An Adolescent Ruling Class

These individual items of news are only facets of changes that are going on, mere symptoms of a grander development, and it might be as well if we look behind the news items at the developments taking place there. The Dutch East Indies, as Indonesia was called before independence, was sternly ruled by a Civil Service under the Netherlands. The native ruling class increased from small beginnings without training in the administration necessary for the efficient running of a modern state, for the Dutch filled practically every job. This had the effect of making the Indonesian capitalists rely particularly heavily on their workers for support for the Nationalist Party (P.N.I.) in attaining independence and in the running of that country since.

Workers in Indonesia

Strictly speaking the Indonesian working class started in the 18th Century as employees of the Dutch colonists, but it was with the opening of the Suez Canal and the demand by industry for rubber and oil, the two chief exports of the country, that led to rapid development. In 1919, the formation of the Central Workers'

Union led to a wave of strikes. The Colonial Government was at first sympathetic but when they saw the conflagration spreading they soon turned on the workers. In 1923 the Communist Party (PKI) was formed and grew in popularity, claiming to be a Workers' party. Although its policy was one of reforming capitalism, many gave their support as the one hope (or so it seemed to them, not being socialists) in a repressive colonial set-up. The pressure of the Dutch workers and administrators forced the concession of freedom of the press and assembly for the whites, but the Indonesian workers also benefited to a lesser extent. The workers who bore the exploitation were supported by the native capitalists who found it quite simple to lay the blame for the workers' troubles on the foreign exploiters and also by the student body who had poor hopes of suitable employment whilst the Dutch filled the Civil Service jobs. In 1927 a Communist Party insurrection was suppressed.

Meanwhile, the radical transformation of village life proceeded apace as the great plantations with their demand for wage-labour and the oil wells were developed. Strikes grew more frequent and in 1926/7 there was a particularly serious outbreak.

During World War II the Japanese seized the colony from the Dutch, and partly because they were heavily committed elsewhere, gave a measure of self-rule to the budding native capitalist class. After the War was over the Dutch tried unsuccessfully to resume control of this former colony but it was already too late; the Native Government, with the support of the workers, were too firmly entrenched. In 1947 the Dutch resorted to warfare, and the Indonesian workers fought for their masters with Japanese arms.

But in 1948/9, the U.S.A., dreading the setting-up of a Communist Government in Indonesia hostile to western capitalism, suspended Marshall Aid to the Dutch, and their attempt to resume control failed.

Trade Unions flourished and in 1953 they had a total membership of 1,400,000. The reforms advocated by the "Communist" PKI and their hostility to the 'Free-World Bloc brought them support and in June, 1954, 17 of their members were elected to the Indonesian parliament. In the provincial elections of last year the PKI made further advances.

Thieves fall out

But things have not gone too well for the ruling class. Having seized control of the machinery of government they are now quarrelling over the division of part of the spoils; on the chief island of Java, where the capital is situated, they are fiddling the central government taxes to the anger of the exploiters on the other islands of the Archipelago. Although this passing of the taxation buck to less powerful groups is quite a normal procedure for some capitalists, those who are being mulcted of their hard won proceeds of exploitation have not been philosophical about it but have rebelled, under the leadership of the local military. It is this that chiefly lies behind the news of revolts in the outlying islands earlier last year.

Indonesian Meat but with Different Gravy

But with the rebellion in Java there are other factors. One of the dangers in Indonesian society is that of authoritarian political methods above the village level. The authoritarian tradition and the related habit of dependence upon orders from above, both stemming from the long period of colonial rule and from the absence of democratic methods in the past and the ignorance of the workers as to their true class interests, has left the working-class movement wide open to reprisals from their masters. The latter have had enough of the well-nigh endless demands for better conditions. It has for some years now been fairly generally recognised there that it only required a market setback to spark off a general attack on the workers. The falling prices of rubber and other tropical products and the surplus of oil on world markets in recent months have done the trick. In the mixed reports from Djakarta can be seen the anti-working class trend of events. The situation here recalls our comments on Hungary and on Malaya in past issues of the SOCIALIST STANDARD where we said "In other countries whenever the ruling group is firmly in the saddle of government they lose no time in turning on the workers." This attack was under the cover of a New Life Movement aimed at getting the workers to work harder. All party leaders are agreed that the seven hour day, existing on all estates and mines, is wholly inadequate. Workers were recently taken during working hours from a variety of coffee houses by military police and excoriated as "time corrupters."

Another red herring is the Government's claim on New Guinea. This vast undeveloped area 1,000 miles away would be nothing but embarrassment to the

Indonesian Government unable even to control their existing domains, but it serves to distract attention from their anti-working class actions at home. Visitors to the lush tropical islands of Indonesia may find the landscape a great change from the more temperate parts of the world but if they listened to the utterances of the Indonesian government leaders they might well imagine themselves back home again. The current policy of telling the worker to take his finger out and get cracking with a developing welfare state as an inducement, is another instance. To an extent, then, the crisis in Indonesia is the pay-off for the workers there.

Homeless Dutch Refugees

But we cannot conclude without a comment on the Dutch refugees. Once again the similarity with the fairly recent events in Hungary is in the plight of these people. The inhumanity that results from the decision to expel the Dutch residents by the Indonesian Government acting in the interests of the capitalist class there is revealing. The break-up of families and the horror of both young and old at being uprooted and driven out is an almost continuous process in a class-dominated society. The Dutch refugees now join the grim procession; before them the Hungarians, the 900,000 Arab refugees in the Middle East, the Muslims who have fled from India, the Hindus from Pakistan, the continuous stream from East Germany and the enormous number of White Russians in China now being forced to move again. It seems that this column of spectres will go on while the present system of society lasts.

F. OFFORD.

HOUSING IN RUSSIA AND "SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY"

A reader (Mr. R. L. Rhodes, Trowbridge) writes as follows:—

Dear Comrade,

In "Notes By The Way" (SOCIALIST STANDARD, December, 1957) you comment on bad housing in the Soviet Union. Surely after having about 25 million people made homeless after the last war had ended and added to other problems of reconstruction, only a person who could perform miracles could have solved the problem over night. The S.P.G.B. claims the Soviet Union to be a capitalist state, and that Socialism cannot be brought about in any country unless the whole world turns to Socialism. This theory in my opinion is wrong, as for instance say, Britain's working class were prepared to elect a Socialist government and in the United States they still elected a capitalist government. What would be the attitude of the S.G.P.B.?

Yours fraternally

R. L. RHODES.

REPLY.

Housing in Russia

Our correspondent thinks it quite reasonable in view of wartime destruction, that the Russian government has not been able to "solve the problem over

night." This is of course precisely the excuse given by the British and other governments. It is a characteristic piece of capitalist double-talk. With the resources available in Russia, Britain, America and elsewhere it would have been technically quite practicable to have the population decently housed but for the fact that in each country priority is given to other things, notably the fantastic expenditure on armaments, including the American, British and Russian A bombs and H bombs. Since each government places "guns before butter," and before working class housing, they can all plead that the residue of materials and labour is not sufficient for decent workers' houses. And of course the inability to build houses only applies to working class houses, not to the abundant, luxurious accommodation made available for the rich and the leading politicians in all countries.

We would also draw our correspondent's attention again to the statement about Russian housing in our December issue. How does his plea that houses were destroyed in vast numbers in the war that ended over 12 years ago justify the present building (for the workers only) of new houses that are "one storey buildings very little larger than a one-car garage? And of course the masses of slums and near-slums were there in Russia before the war broke out. They are not the product of the war.

"Socialism in One Country"

There are two quite distinct notions about the possibility of getting Socialism in one country alone.

One is held by people who think that Socialism can be imposed on the people by the government, and that all you need therefore is for the government to be taken over by a group who want Socialism. The point about this theory is, of course, that it assumes that you can get Socialism without having to wait for the workers to become Socialists. If this theory had been sound our correspondent would not have written to us asking a question but would have written giving us the answer. He would have been able to tell us that in 1918 the Russian Communist Party seized power and then, in accordance with the theory of Socialism in one country, had triumphantly introduced Socialism in Russia without having to wait for the workers in Russia to become Socialist or for the workers out of Russia to become Socialist. Our correspondent does not tell us this because it is not true. After 40 years of power, what they have produced is State capitalism, and we readily agree that you can have State capitalism in one country.

The other theory about Socialism in one country is the one our correspondent asks us to consider, the notion of the workers becoming Socialist in one part of the capitalist world but not in other parts. This theory has been put to us ever since the S.P.G.B. was formed but it has undergone repeated changes—the country in which this is supposed to happen is never the same. At one time it was Germany where the workers were supposed to be on the verge of Socialism; then the purblind I.L.P. told us that it was Australia (they even had it happening in one state alone in Australia, in Queensland). Then Mexico and France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, New Zealand and numerous other countries, each had their turn—not forgetting Britain where

Socialism was about to dawn with the Labour Government of 1924. All of these examples were based on the supposition, now put in the letter above, that the majority in one country become Socialists while those elsewhere do not. Which brings us from fanciful assumptions back to reality. Our correspondent gives us no reason whatever for supposing that something will happen which is contrary to all experience. The overwhelming majority of workers in Britain, Russia, U.S.A. and everywhere else have not yet abandoned their belief in capitalism. Those who have become Socialists are everywhere a small minority, and everywhere at present the Socialist idea spreads only slowly. Experience everywhere supports the view that the progress of the Socialist movement will be much the same everywhere because broadly the workers' experience of capitalism is everywhere similar. Also the movement in one country influences growth in other countries. The tempo will at some stage increase but again there is no evidence of any kind to suggest that it will quicken in Britain and hang back in U.S.A. and Russia or vice versa. On the contrary the only expectation is that the growth of the Socialist movement everywhere will be accompanied by increasingly effective common international action by the Socialist movement. The international Socialist movement will be strong everywhere before the possibility of Socialism arises, and if the election at which Socialists take governmental control out of the hands of the capitalists in one country slightly precedes the elections at which the workers elsewhere do the same, the situation will present no problem of any moment. The capitalists everywhere will be at the end of their rule, and will know that they are at the end of their rule, in face of the worlds' Socialists acting as one united movement.

ED COMM.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Glasgow Branches (City and Kelvingrove) are holding regular Sunday evening propaganda meetings and full details are given in the local press. These meetings are being well attended and the Branch members are anxious to see that interesting subjects are dealt with and also to maintain the already good start made for 1958. Please make a note—full details of meetings in your local paper.

Wales. The Party's name is frequently in the news and the Western Mail (calling itself the National Daily of Wales) publishes letters from our Swansea Comrades in its "Letters to the Editor" column. The Swansea Group members, being few in number, not living very close to one another, rely on correspondence as their main source of propaganda. In the issue of the Western Mail dated December 4th a feature article quotes "The Western Mail seems to me to have been quite generous to political minorities. I noticed for example at least one letter from the Swansea Secretary of the Select Party of Good Boys, as I call the Socialist Party of Great Britain which still claims to be the only true Socialist Party in these isles."

"Socialist Standard." Another reminder that a sub-



scription form is in this issue, and although the STANDARD is now 6d. a month, 7s. 6d. will secure the SOCIALIST STANDARD for a whole year, posted to any address in Britain.

Camberwell Branch has not been mentioned in News Briefs for sometime now. This is not due to lack of activity; on the contrary, the Branch has been very busy. Two outdoor meeting stations have been maintained—East Street and Rushcroft Road—and although during the winter months, these meetings are not so well attended as in the Spring and Summer, literature sales have been well maintained. The Branch members

regularly canvas the SOCIALIST STANDARD and in the November "drive" nearly 20 dozen copies were sold.

One member who was very active in the Branch has moved out of London and the Branch has lost contact with him. The member is Comrade Goodman and the Branch would be very pleased to hear from him again.

Currently, the branch is arranging film-shows and lectures and mock debates at the branch room. Details of these activities will be given shortly. As in other branches of the Party, non-members are always welcome at branch meetings and lectures.

Activity in Morecambe. Comrade Shaw of Morecambe sends us from time to time cuttings from local newspapers containing many letters of his putting the party case in answer to articles and letters from other readers. Recently he has had letters in the *Barrow News*, the *Lancaster Guardian*, *Morecambe Times* and *Morecambe Visitor*. In this way Comrade Shaw is able to put over the Socialist case on matters of current interest and it is an example other members could usefully copy.

Our Advertising. In response to a recent advertisement we received the following letter: "your strikingly-worded advertisement in the *News Chronicle* causes me to write for the free specimen copy offered.

I am still looking for a Socialist journal free from the omniscience of Tooley Street and the greasiness of Uriah Heep.

Is such to be found in Clapham High Street?"

It is pleasing to receive this tribute to our advertising. We only hope that the literature which has been sent to this enquirer will stimulate his interest sufficiently to induce him to make a fuller study of the Socialist case.

New Journal published by our Irish Comrades. We welcome as an addition to Socialist literature the *Socialist* published by the Socialist Party of Ireland. It is a brightly written and informative 8-page duplicated journal, issued monthly at 3d. Those who wish to get copies are invited to apply to the S.P.I., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Belfast, or to P. Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, or to our head office. We wish our Irish Comrades success in their venture and urge readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD to give them support.

Speakers' Class. The Propaganda Committee is arranging a Speakers class to be held February-April. The last class was very successful as members know and the Propaganda Committee will be pleased to hear from Comrades who intend to join. Details are being sent to Branch Secretaries.

Passing of an early member. We have received from Leonard F. Bailey a letter about the death of his father, B. S. Bailey on 17th December, at the age of 78. He writes:—

"I understood he was a founder member of the Party in 1904, and was for many years an active member of Wood Green Branch, and mentioned to me amongst other comrades, the names of Anderson and Fitzgerald, which would take us back to the first world war of 1914.

I know he had the party movement deeply at heart and should like, if I may, to send the Party a small donation each year to commemorate his memory on December 17th.

His sons are scattered, one at Helpringham, Lincs., another at Ringstead, Northants, and myself at Ilford, but I can safely say we have all father's ideals at heart."

P.H.

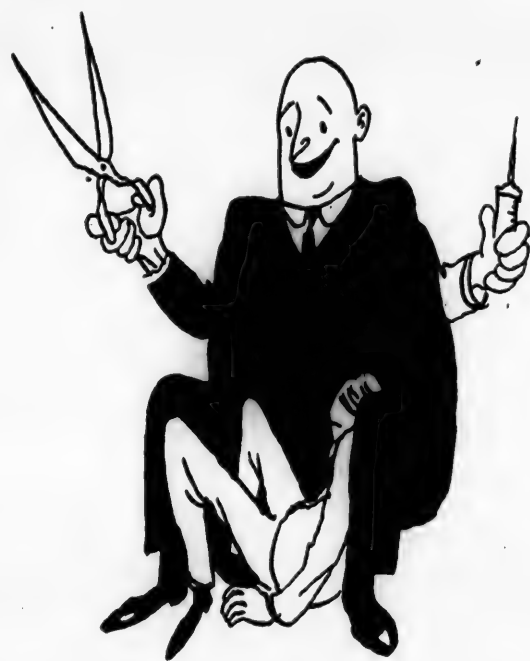
GOLDEN FLEECE

OUT-OF-TOWN readers and others will be interested in an item which appeared not long ago in *Life Magazine*. "Doyle Goldy, a sheep rancher, of Palisades, Wash., was fed up with wrestling with his sheep. Every time he tried to shear them they wriggled and kicked so much that they wore him out, especially the rams. Then Goldy heard about tranquilizers and their effect on people. He asked a doctor whether a tranquilizer would work on a ram. Probably so, answered the doctor, and he doubted that it would have any long-term effect. Goldy gave one of his rumbunctious rams a specially prepared injection of it and a wonderfully tranquil expression spread over the animal's face. Then as Goldy applied the shears and his son David watched, the ram submitted without a wriggle."

This is a wholly new venture with sheep, of course, but its use has been well known in the human world for a hundred and fifty years. The large-scale shearing movement which began in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century necessitated new techniques generally; to-day the variety of tranquilizers is so considerable that the fleece merchants are spoiled for choice (that's putting it mildly).

The first great name in tranquilizers is Wesley. Before

his time the fleece merchants had to contend with wriggling and kicking wholesale. Most of the herds were newly driven in from the countryside and did not take kindly to



their new environments; some, indeed, kicked and broke the machines used for shearing them, and there were occasional signs of whole herds refusing to be shorn at all. Near Manchester in 1817 several head were openly butchered as an example to the others, in spite of protests from humane societies.

Wesley's prescription was an adaptation of several old formulae. The chief ingredients were Sky Pie and Humble Pie, laced with Mumbo. The tranquilizing effect was remarkable for its time: a full injection of Wesleyism produced pleasant dreams of pasture and cud and made the subject at once quiescent and willing to be sheered. A revolution in herdsmanhood had taken place. Some old-fashioned fleece merchants ignored the new methods, preferring the heavy hand and the big stick (there was, in fact, a proprietary brand of big stick now known as Calvin's); nevertheless, tranquilizers were in.

Their use spread rapidly in the nineteenth century, but Wesley's formula found no rival (though many imitations, such as Booth's Salve, tried to take the market by advertising). After a time, however, an interesting scientific fact showed itself. In modern times, certain insecticides have apparently lost their power because slight mutations have taken precedence and produced new bug generations which are non-susceptible to those bug powders. The same thing happened in the shearing world; before the nineteenth century ended it was apparent that the herds were no longer being tranquilized by the Sky-Pie formula.

The fleece merchants' backroom experts produced several interesting experiments while they searched fresh avenues for a new tranquilizer. In the face of one outbreak of kicking, their episcopal and mayoral section made effective use of a sedative called Charity; its chief ingredient was a minute quantity of the base metal Handout. It was commonly believed that an overdose of this would be dangerous (to somebody or other); the discovery that it was not so paved the way for one of the great tranquilizers of modern times.

Testing doses of the new mixture (ninepence and fourpence) were given in the early nineteen-hundreds, and it was brought to full strength after the second world war. The basic formula of Thin Soup and Crumbs remains; only specifics for various purposes have been added. Injection with the mixture produces an expression of heavenly bliss while the shearing is going on and even, it is thought, inability to feel the shears; one large group

known as the Labour herd seems acquiescent to almost anything with this tranquilizer (though its old rams are suspected of being self-immunized).

Different localities have different tranquilizers, of course. In some parts of the world the Soup-and-Crumbs concoction has not caught on and they have the Yewtoo drug. This induces a trance in which the subject, while actually being sheared, sees himself doing the shearing in a Cadillac. Another local preparation is Krushchov Salts (formerly known as Stalinoids), which gives an illusion of boundless freedom at the same moment as a copper's club descends; where the injection does not take place, the subject is removed to a cold climate for further treatment.

With the pace of shearing being continually stepped up, new tranquilizers are on the way all the time. It has been discovered, for example, that the ownership of any small piece of imitation fleece is itself a tranquilizer, since it gives an impression of having somehow shared in the shearing. Another handy phenomenon is the occasional emergence in a herd of a young female with over-developed hindquarters and thorax; watching her, they can be sheared twice over.

Summing up, what has changed is the tranquilizers' basic ingredient. The old one, Pie in the Sky, has given way to Pie on Earth—the Papal dose to be taken timidly. Even Wesley's and similar brands have had to fight competition by going over largely to this formula, while Graham's Hotgosp (a new and much inferior product) consists almost entirely of it. The contemporary "tranquilizer dream" does not hallucinate the subject with his nightgowned, harp-pinging self on a cloud. Its vision is of a super-gadget home for him, with super-chassis creatures in the garage and the kitchen. There is hardly a difference, except that the shears snicker a good deal faster nowadays.

Watch out for mutations, however. About fifty-three years ago a new variety appeared which had developed sensitivity to shearing to such an extent as to be immune to tranquilizers. The tendency of this group is to pass on its acquired consciousness, so that the logical outcome of its growth would be a complete rejection of shearing altogether. Since it's a damnfool business anyway, that would be a fine thing for everybody. As mutations survive or not according to their suitability to the environment, this obviously is the one with the future. Watch out!

ROBERT COSTER.

IS THE VATICAN FREEDOM'S ONLY FOE?

WE are aware that when we state our case against religion we come up against deeply rooted prejudice. Of course religious people do not like to think of themselves as being prejudiced but, as wrong as they may think us to be, they must fairly examine our position if they are to have anything other than emotional convictions about their own ideas.

It is fundamental to the Socialist case that belief in gods and their powers over human affairs is one of the things that stands in the way of the workers' understanding and ending their subject and exploited condition. It is with religion as the prop to the present system of property rights and privileges—as sanctifier of capitalist laws, wars and institutions, as an agent of the

capitalist class in keeping its wage-slaves docile—that as Socialists we are concerned with exposing and opposing it.

If the workers of the world are to take the stage and proclaim the world to be theirs, if they are to realise the powers lying dormant in their own heads and hands, they must cast off the fog of religion together with the other fallacies maintaining this system. We claim that there are no "divine" solutions to housing, poverty, hunger, war and insecurity. Faith and prayers can only delay the day when discontentment with these things organises to abolish the system that brings them.

A small book has been written by one Adrian

(Continued on page 25)

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

FEBRUARY



1958

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

HERALDING 1984

The *Daily Herald*, early in January, ran a series of articles by "experts" to answer the question whether 25 years ahead we shall be living in George Orwell's nightmare, "with common man enslaved by the State" or will 1984 "be a year of dazzling brilliance of scientific promise—with common man enjoying the new fruits of the earth?" (*Daily Herald*, 6/1/58). Sir Miles Thomas foresees that travel will be faster, cheaper and safer. Sir Adolphe Abrahams does not think we shall have the 3½ minute mile; but football will still be the top national game, we shall still have the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race and the Cup Final will still be at Wembley. Jane Drew, "leading woman architect" thinks houses and streets will be more attractive, houses won't be cold, and the "the TV set will take the place of the fireplace as the centre of the family circle."

The Anti-Utopia Builders

Now the *Herald* is the organ of the Labour Party and claims to be socialist and the reader might well have expected to be told that 1984 would have seen the introduction of Socialism. The articles did not say that Socialism would be here or that it wouldn't be here—the subject was just not mentioned. Several of the "experts" have either never heard of it at all, or, they think that it has nothing to do with their specialist subject; which goes to show just how little they know about Socialism.

In each of their supposedly isolated worlds the choice is between capitalism and socialism,

there isn't any neutral no man's land. The kind of house you live in, the kind of vehicle you travel in and the kind of entertainment and sport you enjoy will depend on your position in society. If you are a wage-earner in a capitalist 1984 what you get will be what you can afford. All of this is a closed book to the *Herald's* writers and obviously doesn't have any importance for the Editor, or he would have directed his inquiries to the real question, whether Socialism will be here by then.

Capitalism, 1984 Variety

But one of the writers, Mr. Harry Nicholas, assistant secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, stands out from the rest, for he mentioned the word "socialist." His article, on the job situation, was the most deplorable of the lot. He answers the question very clearly, though without knowing he answers it. Capitalism it will be, with not a single essential feature altered. Not that Mr. Nicholas is pessimistic about it. He does not think "we will have any unemployment in the next 25 years, provided we have sanity in the financial sphere." (He has clearly never examined the financial system if he thinks it isn't inherently idiotic). Automation, he says, will create jobs and markets. We shall be charitable and "in a good socialist way" we shall assist the backward countries and thus "create markets which will absorb the products of our industries." There will be fewer "unskilled" and more "skilled" workers, and higher standard rates of wages and less piecework. There will be more Company pension, sickness and other benefits to supplement the State schemes. Evidently Mr. Nicholas' optimism does not extend to the elimination of the wars that go with the struggle for markets. All he says in this field is that "because of the changes likely to take place in weapons of attack and defence, many of our Royal Ordnance factories and naval dockyards will have to be utilized for peacetime production." He does not risk a forecast about the kind of weapons the other factories will be producing.

We may wind up by saying that while most of the contributions were useless, because the writers don't even know about the capitalist world we live in, Mr. Nicholas is pernicious as well because he has obviously heard about capitalism but sees no reason why or how or when it should be abolished: just like the *Herald*, and the Labour Party for which it speaks.

FILM SHOW

at

BETHNAL GREEN TOWN HALL,
Cambridge Heath Road, E.2

on

Wednesday, 12th February at 7.30 p.m.

"THE CITY"

Questions and Discussion

IS THE VATICAN FREEDOM'S ONLY FOE?—continued
from page 23

Piggott, which plays its role in the farce of Catholic versus Protestant, entitled *Freedom's Foe—The Vatican*, from the Wickliffe Press. The way Adrian Piggott sees it, the world would be a wonderful place but for the sinister intrigues and the domineering and dictatorial nature of the Roman Catholic Church. The H-Bomb in the hands of a Protestant Eisenhower is a gift from heaven, but would be a threatening menace if controlled by a McCarthy Catholic. Taking the sincerity of the author for granted, we feel a little guilty at having to shatter such unworldly innocence, but it is nevertheless necessary.

Although Materialism recognises that men make history (that is to say it is the activities of men in relation to the environment which changes the face of the earth) it is nevertheless true that men are thrown up by the times they live in and conditioned by the social and economic forces around them. Blissfully unaware of this, our author is a "great-man" fan.

Two lists are produced in the first chapter which are supposed to show "that nearly all the human benefactors are non-Romanists—and that the 'Black Sheep' generally are Romanists." Before we cast the light of our class scrutiny on some of the major anti-working class defenders of Capitalism it is curious to note in passing how Lord Baden Powell, who saved the British Army training time with the Boy Scout idea, is listed as a benefactor, while Hitler, who did the same for the German Army with Hitler Youth, is on the black list. How a religious reformer like General Booth, who founded the now multi-millionaire Salvation Army qualifies as a "Sociologist" is rather mystifying. The Gin Houses of East End London were ready material for anyone looking for "sinners." That the underlying cause of poverty and degradation is rooted in the system where a relatively few own, and the many are wage slaves whose lives are conditioned by the state of the labour market upon which they have to find hirers, of course completely escaped Booth and his successor, whose only answer is to bend the knee and pray.

IT MUST BE REALISED THAT THE PROVISION OF SUCH AVENUES OF ESCAPE AND SMOOTHING OF ANY DISCONTENT IS A SERVICE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND THE WELL BEING OF THEIR SYSTEM.

Amongst the statesmen listed as "human benefactors" are Attlee, Churchill, Eden, Lenin, Lloyd George, Nehru, F. D. Roosevelt and Truman. If the virtue of these men lies in their not being Catholics, it is nothing to boast about. Lenin did more than any man with the possible exception of Stalin to distort Marxism and pass Russian State Capitalism off as Socialism; perhaps the greatest single piece of mischief ever to bring confusion to the world's workers as to what Socialism is and where their interests lie. The rest of them have all broken strikes and supported wars and deceived the workers (including Adrian Piggott) as to the issues involved in wars. Let us stress here again

it is not that they are Protestants or Hindu's that they behave as they do, not because they are "bad men" and that "good" men in the same circumstances would have been different. It is the word "circumstances" which needs studying. The circumstances are those produced by a system of production for sale and profit and competition for markets and materials. The folly of accepting the responsibility of trying to make Capitalism work in peace and harmony lies as much on the heads of working class millions as it does on the "statesmen" they vote for. Adrian Piggott has seen fit to include Henry Ford, Rockefeller and Lord Nuffield as non-Catholic "philanthropists." These men like the rest of the class to which they belong have amassed vast wealth out of the unpaid labour of the working class. We can only describe the attitude of those who accept the world of rich and poor and go looking for the rich to be "philanthropists" as a grovelling one.

There is also a list of warriors. Now a warrior is one skilled in the "art" of mass butchery known as making war. It is strange, to say the least, that a writer who condemns the violence and blood-letting of the Roman Catholic Church, should look upon Eisenhower, Montgomery and Tito, etc., as "human benefactors." While it is true, as the author points out, that Senator McCarthy was a Catholic the whole of the vileness for which he was responsible was carried out under President Eisenhower. There are several worthwhile chapters on the distant and recent past of the Roman Catholic Church, which well illustrate its brutality, but in drawing attention to the harmful effects of ignorance fostered by the Romanists, the author all the time writes as a patriot and a Protestant and adopts a "holier than thou" attitude which blinds him to the equally harmful nature of Capitalism generally, and all its religious sponsors. When Adrian Piggott talks of "Freedom" he means the conditions obtaining in the non-Catholic countries and speaks in equally glowing terms about Britain, America and Russia. For the friction which exists between them he blames the "Vatican Schemers." What really sets the major (and minor) powers at one another's throats is, of course, their rivalry for markets, resources and trade routes which are the foundation of their profits. To whatever extent the Catholic Church is concerned in the commerce of Capitalism it is no worse than the rest of them. As for freedom, the wage slaves the world over are "free" to work for wages or starve if they refuse. Factory fodder in boom time, cannon fodder in war time, they are free to rot on the labour market when no employer finds it profitable to exploit them.

Yes, the Vatican is freedom's foe, but not its only one. The lack of understanding of their position in Capitalist society on the part of the world's workers, makes for the continuation of all the barriers to their freedom. The word "freedom" is indeed a high sounding one, but while the productive majority have to hire themselves out of their weekly keep to a non-productive minority, it can have only a very limited significance. Only when the means of living belong in common to everyone will freedom from want, wars and insecurity begin to have meaning. We in the companion Parties for Socialism need your help urgently to bring that condition about.

H.B.

OLD FAMILIAR FACES

THEY'RE at it again! Take hold of yourself. Who? The lotus-flowers. The teeny-weenies with long hair. Gaiety Girls. Seventhday Adventists? No, no. Worse. The tea-shoppe Jacobins. Good Lord! You don't mean—? Listen and I'll whisper. Well I never! Left-wing intellectuals. A magazine, eh? I bet they mention Colin Wilson and Kingsley Amis a lot of times. Lots of long words. Funny bits about Marx. Professor Deutscher. And you'll never guess who else. Not—not him? Professor Cole it is. Here, take it away. February's filldyke month, isn't it? Expensive way of filling dykes, at three-and-six a time.

Here it is, then: *Universities and Left Review*. Very well got up, good typography; indeed, the Abbey Press (the people who print it) are to be complimented on having a range of bold, large and display types almost sufficient to keep up with the editors' delight in Names. The cover bears the contributors' names (Isaac Deutscher, Claude Bourdet, Peter de Francia, E. P. Thompson, G. D. H. Cole, Joan Robinson, etc.) in massive black letters, their topics in small ones. The first page has the editor's names in large heavy type, underlined, across the top; there are the contributors' names in not-so-large heavy type, and the titles in type so small that myopic left-wing intellectuals presumably have to guess them.

Page three lists the names (in capitals) and achievements of the editors and contributors. *Universities* attended, articles accepted by the *New Statesman*; books published, masterpieces, intended, all four editors are writing theses on, respectively. The Novels of Henry James, Charles Dickens, the dockers of London, Bristol and Liverpool, and "the theory of alienation, from Hegel to the Existentialists." Even the Business Manager's name (in caps.), and a piece to show that he, too—"scholar of Magdalen College, Oxford," it says. Is it a Freudian urge that makes one want to write naughty additions to this portentous list? How about "Cigarettes by Nosegay-Rizla"? Ah, no—too non-U: Abdulla it must be. "Underwear by St. Michael" might do, though. Quick, turn over before the temptation takes us. But no, no! not more names, more capitals. . . .

However, there are still the articles. After all, they have trumpets and spotlights and "My lords, ladies and gentlemen" before a prize-fight, but sooner or later the boxers, left alone, must come out fighting; and tonight there are reputed champions in the ring. Did we not pay three and sixpence to come in? Alas, the bigger they are the flatter they fall. The spryest of the lot, in fact, is Professor Cole, because he was wise enough to bring his own opponent: an old-guy he cobbled together years ago ("tarted-up," of course, to quote one of Mr. Amis's most charming expressions) called "What Marx Really Meant," at which Professor Cole throws haymakers until his seconds lead him away, breathing heavily but unmarked.

The rest of them are unmarked, too, in a way. Hold them up to the light: not a stain—not a shadow, nor a trace, of an original idea or a thought which has not been raked out from the rag-bag of the nineteen-thirties. Not

a stain, and shining pink. Here is E. P. Thompson, arguing whether it was right or not to have fought in Spain; the Art Critic writing-up artists who "represent a menace to the very foundations of the bourgeois idea of art"; the town-planners working-out nattier, more aseptic hutches for the working class. Here is the windy, outmoded vogue-language of left-wingers a generation ago: "significant," "chauvinist," "reactionary" and the rest.

Do they realize it, one wonders? Does any of them know that it's all past tense, that the *Universities and Left Review* is a dodo-house? Vol. I, No. 1, Spring 1957: but for this, one would be back with the *Left News*, the *Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals*, or *The Controversialist*. Perhaps they don't realize it after all: one contributor actually writes of "a new social type in this country—the intellectual." Perhaps Claude Bourdet really thinks he has something new and unprecedented when he writes:

"The rehabilitation of the French left, then, depends upon a converging action of the Socialist Left still fighting in the Socialist Party, the democratic Communist opposition fighting inside the Communist Party, the left wing Mendésiste Radicals, along with the 'new left.' Under this four-fold influence the distant prospect is the reconstruction . . . of a strong united workers' Party, mingling Christian and traditional liberal influences with a dominant Marxist one."

The star performer, however, is Professor Deutscher. Professor Deutscher writes on "Russia in Transition" in No. 1. Does Professor Deutscher say anything, in fifteen thousand words? Professor Deutscher does not. The sharpest intellect could find no quarrel with Professor Deutscher's conclusions, because there are none. Every statement is hedged with "may," "seem," "perhaps" and "should it arise." It is an extended version of one of Professor Deutscher's television interviews where some news-reader, almost visibly touching his forelock, seeks enlightenment:

"Please tell the viewers, Professor, just what is happening in Russia now."

"Well, you see, Lenin is reputed to have said to Trotsky just before the Russian Revolution . . ."

"Thank you, Professor. And what do you think will happen in Russia?"

"Well, Stalin was a dictator, you know. And Trotsky said to Bogdanov . . . And, of course, there were Nichaev and Lenin's grandmother . . ."

"Thank you very much, Professor. Have you a final prophecy to leave with us?"

"I think Trotsky may have been right. On the other hand, Lunacharsky may have been right. Who knows? Somebody must be right."

"Very grateful to you, Professor. Well, viewers, I'm sure we are all, etc."

There is an expectancy throughout it all that suddenly Mr. Spike Milligan's face will peer over somebody's shoulder, crooning adenoidally. It is, in fact, very much like the evening papers' football forecasts, where all results except the stone certs are predicted in such phrases as "Anything can happen." And when anything has happened, the expert remains, of course, an expert.

What purpose, then, does the *Universities and Left Review* serve? Pretentious, empty of ideas, its material picked from ideological dust-heaps, it has set out to make a splash—or, as the first editorial put it, to take a beach-head. Its avowed purpose is to publish discussion on

"the common ground of a genuinely free and genuinely socialist society." Its way, the editors say, is "to take socialism at full stretch—as relevant only in so far as it is relevant to the full scale of man's activities."

If that were true—"the full scale of man's activities"—it really would be interesting. But, of course, it isn't. Search the *Universities and Left Review*, and only in a line here and a phrase there will you find the working class mentioned. Professor Cole has a good word for them, and there is a little lofty patronage from David Marquand ("in the thirties, there had to be an effective mass movement for the intellectuals to join") and E. P. Thompson ("the experience of rank-and-file political activity enriches us and keeps our ideas on the ground"). The names in the *Universities and Left Review* see themselves (bear witness, the articles on art, the cinema, architecture) as members of an élite: the General Staff on that beach-head the upper crust of the "genuinely socialist society."

This is the oldest, weariest idea of all. Its resurgence just now is probably more important to the "intellectuals" than ever before, however. The present-day world has very little use for them: a young man with a First in English Literature or a prize for philosophy is himself something of an archaism when the whole structure of education is being changed to produce physicists, technologists and other atom-age men. Unless the University young men can succeed as writers or get

into commercial television, their doom is schoolteaching or Government offices.

Some of them, aware of the situation, have responded angrily: the Angry Young Man is a useless young man, whose abilities and ideals the world won't venerate any more. For others, there is another way to take: if the ruling class doesn't want them then the working class shall have them as its guides and philosophers, if not exactly friends. That in itself might not be so bad if the "intellectuals" were thereby realizing that they had an identity with the working class. *Universities and Left Review* shows nothing of the kind, however. The only affinity shown is in the advertisement for *The Observer* inside the cover, making the position sadly clear: U cries out to U.

Universities and Left Review seeks comment from the socialist viewpoint. It can be simply made. There is not a word concerning Socialism from beginning to end of the *Universities and Left Review*. Reformist clap-trap, yes; pretentious verbiage, indeed; chatter about how things are for the intellectuals, above all. But of the interests of the working class, the great majority of mankind—not a whisper.

The most useful left-winger we ever saw was Tom Finney. The day he scored against the Arsenal—now, that was worth three-and-six.

ROBERT COSTER.

BOOK REVIEW

Marx and Soviet Reality by Daniel Norman.

The Batchworth Press, 1955. 2s. 6d.

THIS is a very useful little booklet of 72 pages which demolishes, with numerous quotations from Marx and Engels, a large number of the myths the Bolsheviks have built up to delude the uncritical: particularly their claims to be Marxists and to have established Socialism in Russia.

The author shows that the Russian revolution was fundamentally a revolution, similar to the French revolution of 1789-93, for the purpose of bringing Russia out of semi-feudalism into modern capitalism. Its ruthlessness and barbarity were part of the hot-house process. He also shows that the revolution never went "off the track," as the Trotskyists pretend, because Stalin only carried on the Lenin programme.

The opening paragraphs of the booklet indicate the author's standpoint:

"There is at least one point on which Soviet propaganda and the opponents of Marxism—and Socialism in general—agree: both describe the U.S.S.R. as the embodiment of the Marx-Engels conception of a Socialist society. Both claim to see in the masters of the Kremlin the heirs and faithful pupils of Marx, and in the Soviet policy the extension of Maxian policy in our times."

"Nothing could be wider of the mark; nothing would have infuriated Marx and Engels more. For under its Marxist veneer of Bolshevik terminology, Soviet reality can be easily identified with everything abhorred, criticised, and fought against by Marx and Engels all their lives."

Of unemployment in Russia the author has this to say:—

"How can there be any question of unemployment where an important part of the working population is permanently

behind barbed wire, working for wages far under subsistence level, that is, in worse conditions than a slave of ancient times." (Page 27.)

Although the means of production are owned by the State the new privileged class that has grown up in Russia had their position legalised by the Stalin Constitution of 1936, which confirmed the right to private property and the right to inheritance. So the claim of the wealthy to the products of the workers' labour is protected in the same way as in other capitalist countries. Of the relation between the Russian State and the workers the author describes as follows:—

"The fact that in the U.S.S.R. the State is the owner of the conditions of production—the general capitalist—and the direct producers are wage-earners, that therefore the relations between them, according to Marx, are still the relations between capital and labour, between employer and proletarians, whether or not this pleases the Soviet leaders. And there is no difficulty in discovering that all the characteristics of the capitalist system of exploitation are to be found in the Russian system of relationship between the State, owner of the means of production, and the direct producer, the worker." (Page 23.)

The author makes the following general observation on Soviet planning:—

"The general aim of Soviet planning being the industrialisation of the country, the immediate task for the Russian State capitalist planners is 'augmentation of Capital,' and capital, be it State or private, is accumulated surplus value. The planning of wages is thus naturally reduced to squeezing as much unpaid labour as possible from the worker, and the planners see to it that they are not robbed of their part." (Page 28.)

There are numerous quotations from *Capital*, as well as from other writings of Marx and Engels to illustrate how different their conception was from that which the Bolsheviks have tried to foist upon them, and how truly the progress of Russian industrialisation has followed the path which Marx had forecast as necessary in order to establish capitalism there.

Marx pointed out that "The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil, is the basis of the whole process." The author shows how the Russian plans accomplished just this, increasing the number of industrial workers by over 20 millions between 1928 and 1940, "without taking into account the millions of peasants who, during this period, were sent to hard labour in Siberia and Central Asiatic Russia, nor the further millions who perished during the famines of the thirties." (Page 32.)

A letter from Engels to Vera Zasulich April 23rd, 1885, is quoted in which Engels gave an astonishing forecast of events in Russia. After saying that a revolution in Russia was imminent, he goes on:—

"This is one of the exceptional cases where it is possible for a handful of men to make a revolution. . . . Well, if ever Blanquism—the phantasy of turning a whole society topsy-turvy by the activity of a small conspiracy—had a certain justification for its existence, it is certainly in Petersburg.

"Once the fire is set to the powder, once the forces released and the national energy transformed from potential into kinetic energy . . . the men who have set the mine ablaze will be blown away by the explosion, which will be a

thousand times stronger than they and which will seek its issue as it can, as the economic forces and resistances determine.

"Supposing these men think they can seize power, what does it matter? Provided they make the hole which will burst the dam, the torrent itself will soon rob them of their illusions. But if it so happens that these illusions had the effect of giving them a superior force of will, why complain of that? People who boasted that they had made a revolution have always seen, next day, that they had no idea what they were doing; that the revolution made bore no resemblance whatsoever to that they wanted to make." (Page 45.)

We have now given sufficient to enable the reader to judge the character of this booklet. We can certainly recommend it to anyone who is interested in the subject matter and who has hitherto been misled by the fraudulent propaganda of the Russian Communists and their supporters.

What the author's own outlook is, apart from the subject with which he is dealing, is not clear. We would be interested to know what he means, for instance, by "the alternative contained in our society: a revolutionary evolution towards a Socialism which implies freedom and democracy" (page 68). Also whether he supports Marx's mistaken view about the value of the co-operatives "as forms of transaction from the capitalist mode of production to the associated one." (Page 22.)

This booklet puts views we have been expressing for nearly 40 years—see pamphlet "Russia Since 1917."

GILMAC.

NOTE ON INSPIRING CONFERENCE IN U.S.A.

LEARN that some American readers are disturbed by the fact that, in the write-up of my trip to America in the November SOCIALIST STANDARD, I did not mention the festering slums, the dingy tenements, the innumerable houses like large dog kennels only more dilapidated, the turmoil inside the factories, and the other social sores. To the people for whom I was writing it is common knowledge that every modern city in the world has its large cesspools of misery—American cities no less than others. Likewise that the insides of factories are places where tortured humanity toils and sweats for the class that owns.

The paragraph that led to a misconception is preceded by the sentence: "I would add a few words on my impressions—necessarily scanty." I then mentioned a few things that I thought would interest members and sympathisers here—among them a reference to wood-built houses to indicate that they could be as pleasant and comfortable as those built of brick. I did not think it necessary to add that there were thousands of them that were practically uninhabitable. In another column of

this paper there are references to the appalling state of housing in the United States.

Perhaps I should add that I was only making a comparison of a few externals to indicate how factories and streets could be laid out in the future. I did not need to go inside the offices and factories; I knew what they were like before I set out on the visit, and so did those for whom I was writing. Of course there is rush and tear inside, but I was interested in some differences outside, compared with here. Naturally my references only concerned the particular places I visited, which are mentioned in the write-up.

Need I also add that I did not go to America to study conditions and report on them—that would have taken months. I simply went out to meet, and become closer acquainted with, the members and sympathisers connected with our companion parties over there. When I came back I wanted members and sympathisers here to know how warmly I was received, and those in America to know how much I appreciated the reception they gave me.

GILMAC.

WHERE ARE YOU GOING

BY this time, you the reader, will once again have embarked on another year's effort, which like all previous efforts, is a two-fold one—to maintain some kind of a living, the best you can get under the circumstances, whilst continuing to be the wealth producing agent for the minority who control your destiny;

not a very dignified position to be in you will agree but one that you have accepted far too long.

You had your Christmas respite and indulged in the traditional manner. Throughout the holiday you strove to foster the spirit of good will; the "live and let live" idea. Now, it is once again all over and you must face

up to the stern reality of life under Capitalism without the cap and bells. In fact you are expected, those of you who have one, to get back on "the job."

It is at this juncture that we in the Socialist Party without wishing to be impertinent, ask the question "Where are you going this year?" Naturally we are not referring to the spate of advertisements already filling the press, extolling the joys of wintering in the Bahamas, and other exotic places. We mean "What are your plans for improving your lot in 1958?" You will agree that 1957 took more out of you than you received in return. This situation is what industrialists would call "bad business," and bad business indeed it was for the working class. This was true also for your fellow workers in the U.S.A., Russia and everywhere else. Everywhere, the sum total of dividends accruing to the world's workers in 1957 after payment of "overhead expenses" (food, clothes, shelter and an occasional "break") was merely an increase in strain and stress; an increase in genuine, all-round fear. 1958 it now appears is already given over to an increase in the scientific armament race with all the above-mentioned evils attached and perhaps more.

The writer, has, for some time past, been in the habit of reading (in the same way as many renew the acquaintance with Dickens' *Christmas Carol*) at the commencement of the New Year, some of the curious reasons and antidotes for the phenomena of poverty. He finds that the reasons are extremely varied and in most cases

amusing. Economists and philanthropists together with our old friends the politicians and clergy offer all kinds of excuses including "sun-spots" which affect the weather and crops, mysterious psychological brain disturbances which affect the business acumen of industrial magnates and so on not forgetting the theory of the inherent wickedness of Man's heart.

So you see, we are told to be patient, virtuous and hard working in the hope that, Micawber like, somehow, things will turn out all right.

In the light of all this, you may of course decide to run for the nearest hatchet, believing that humanity will not free itself "till the last Capitalist is hanged by the entrails of the last priest." We don't think, however, that you are so foolishly energetic. Rather, you are more likely to put away your bells and lanterns, place the frost fairy back into her cardboard box and live in hope that you will be in a position to reverse the process next Christmas.

Readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD will know that it is not our custom to mouth empty platitudes and perhaps the phrase "Happy New Year" has fallen into nothing more than a platitude these days but what we do urge is that you take upon yourselves the business of seeing this year—1958 as the year in which you commenced to do something about putting things right. You can best do this by supporting the Socialist movement which in your case is the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Better still send us a real New Year's card—an application for membership.

W. BRAIN.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Lancashire Textiles and Chinese Competition, 1908

"Mr. Theodore C. Taylor, M.P., recently visited Japan and China, and, as a result of his investigations, he urges that if we (i.e., British capitalists) are to retain our hold upon the world's markets, our aim must be better work and more work in the time, to correspond with the shorter hours we now work. As yet, he says, it is mainly in coarse counts that China and Japan compete with Lancashire, but he sees nothing to prevent their spinning finer counts as well."

(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, Feb., 1908.)

Lancashire Textiles and Chinese Competition, 1958

For the first time for 200 years Britain is buying more cotton textiles from foreign lands than Lancashire is exporting for sale overseas. So says Roger Malcolm Lee, chief of the mighty Lancashire Cotton Corporation, who tells shareholders that imports are now exceeding exports because of cheap cloth coming in from India, Hongkong, Pakistan, and China.

"Latterly," he says, "imports from China have attained alarming proportions."

Sales of Chinese cloth are made at prices "unrelated to actual costs of production." They are obviously made "at political prices" he says.

(From the *Daily Express*, 31 December, 1957.)

SOUND CURRENCY OR NO CURRENCY

THE above title might read a bit "haywire" to the stockbrokers of Throgmorton or Wall Streets, but if such is the case, this is merely because their vision is limited to that of a buying and selling, production for profit system of society. A world of banks and bombs, courts and prisons, parsons and prostitutes, "Official Receivers" and un-official "receivers," Merchant-Brokers and broke "merchants"; flood-lit palaces and gas-lit back alleys, nuclear "progress" on one hand and National Assistance Boards on the other, plus all the rest of the paraphernalia of this "sorry scheme of things."

Anything outside this crazy world of Capitalism is—to the upholders of that social system—a "flight of fancy."

A recent account by Tom Stacey (*Daily Express*) describes a fund formed in America, with donations of the "Almighty Dollar" already flowing in, to complete a sum to present to—Guess Who?—"Our first visitor from outside space." This is a classical example of bourgeois mentality. For them it is a foregone conclusion that "filthy lucre" could not fail to be held in esteem by any possible inhabitants of the whole vast Cosmos!

Such reasoning is of course fallacious. Social systems change in relation to changes in the mode of production and distribution. There can be no eternal Capitalism any more than there could have been an eternal Feudalism. The "Embryo" of Socialism has long existed

within the ageing Capitalism in the form of social production and distribution by the working class in the complicated arrangements required by world markets. It needs but the "midwife" of Socialist knowledge on the part of the working class to complete the "delivery" of the new society. A society wherein the beloved "currency" of the stockbrokers and their ilk will find its historic place as an exhibit in the museums.

This is an historic possibility overlooked by such writers as Frederick Ellis, *Daily Express* financial columnist, who, having his own ideas on what is "good for us all" offers the following advice in his contribution towards the (doubtful) benefit of suffering humanity:—

"A strong £ is essential to the welfare of the nation—as a whole. Monkey about with the £ and you monkey about with Britain's living standards. The bold and politically courageous moves of the Government, unpopular as they may be, are essential for a sound currency, and a sound currency is good for us all."—(*Sunday Express*, 3/10/57.)

This statement is typical of the general "run" of these writers who speak for King Capital. In their view, society is made up of nations within whose boundaries exists a total population with identical interests—a "happy family" wherein strikes official or unofficial are "bad for us all"; for ever and anon, more work and higher production are "good for us all," with the "Almighty Dollar" as an eternal basis for their financial juggling.

In the first place we take it for granted that Mr. Ellis includes the working class when he talks about the "nation as a whole." After all where would the "Nation" be without them! As regards "monkeying about with the £ and Britain's living standards"—this advice is rather belated in view of the fact that various Governments since the turn of the Century have been performing tricks in this field, otherwise how explain the vast reduction in volume of commodities bought by the 1957 £ as against its 1900 counterpart? Then again

what is Mr. Ellis' basis for a "living standard"? Is it the "Plimsol line" of the old age pensioners "standard" or perhaps the "standard" of the habitués of the Dorchester. We have to quote these two extremes because Mr. Ellis is himself continually concerned about what is "good for us all."

The standard of living of the working class in Britain as elsewhere, is determined by the fact that they are a wage-slave class, dependent on the sale of their bodily energy (labour-power), which precludes their participation in the luxury standard of their masters—the Capitalist ruling class. So long as the working class support politically this state of affairs, their living standard will remain what it is today—**A MEAN AND SHODDY EXISTENCE IN RELATION TO THE WEALTH THEY SOCIALLY PRODUCE BUT DO NOT OWN.**

To sum up—in a class-divided society like Capitalism, wherein the Capitalist owning class buy the labour-power of the working class at its market value, whether they pay for it with a "strong" £ or a "weak one" (to use their own lingo) makes no difference to the working class.

Furthermore, the Capitalist Class buy this labour power of the working class, not from any benevolent motives, but because of its potentiality for producing a value over and above its cost in wages, i.e., for profit. The relationship therefore in this transaction is that of exploiter and exploited; rather an unsound basis, to say the least, for Mr. Ellis' "sound currency" social theories.

Fortunately we are not depending on the confused theories of financial "experts" to get us out of the social morass of Capitalism. As Socialists we stand for the abolition of the wages system with its "currency mad-house" or "Sound Pounds," "Almighty Dollars," State Roubles, Widows' Mites and Pensioners Pittances.

To replace it—something that will be good for us all—Socialism.

G. R. RUSSELL.

"HOW TO SAVE MILLIONS OF LIVES"

THE following quick guide to Nuclear War is based on material supplied in a ninepenny booklet issued by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, and is given free by the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

To Save Millions of Lives you must first start a war which would make Genghis Khan's activities look like the Boy Scout Movement.

Using 10,000,000 ton bombs, which are 500 times bigger than the Nagasaki Horror (which we were told, and some were stupid enough to believe, brought peace in 1945) you would drop them on the most densely populated areas, such as cities. The expense would not be great, for one of the above can make a hole (?) one mile wide and 200 feet deep. Again looking on the bright side, this would be a quick war, with good prospects for jerry-builders and black marketeers to put civilisation back on its feet when peace came.

The three dangers in this sort of war are Heat, Blast and Radio-Activity. Any others would be very secondary.

Heat. A very good way of saving some of the lives is to see people are not within four miles of any individual bomb. If possible, too, see people are not within sixteen miles, for they might get so burnt they would wish they were underneath the bomb. A good tip in connection with

burns is to urge folks to wear hats and gloves (you know, like Ascot). These garments are a great help against a 10,000,000-ton explosion!

As this is only a brief resumé on Saving Lives, we must pass on to the next point, **blast.**

Here we are on rather more shaky ground, as we understand "irreparable" damage is done up to five miles in all directions. So we are not clear where the people would be who were going to be Saved. We hold out no hope for retired couples who have bought bungalows in the country, in which to pass the quiet even-tide of their lives. For we know stairs are an excellent way of Saving Lives, just as they were in the Last Lot. Better to dig slit-trenches and learn to live in those.

And now we pass on to **Radio-Activity.** Its discoverers, Marie and Pierre Curie, saw it as a great boon. They hated war. But when it came, in 1917, M. Curie used her brain-child to mend the lumps of quivering flesh which, once had been man.

Radio-activity, we would say, right at the start is tricky, because many of the Saved Lives might have to stay in a well-protected windowless room of their house for days until the R.-A. had lost its lethal content. This room

would have to be the bathroom-cum-toilet. For there could be no discreet "Back in a minute" nonsense. Also food and water would have to be stored, plus tins of milk for the baby. We have no information about anti-suffocation measures to be taken while all these good folk are in their little Black 'Oles of Calcutta. The unlucky ones outside would vomit, develop fever, a ghastly thirst, bleed inside, lose hair outside, and not feel particularly hungry. But at least "they would feel little pain." The French have a proverb—"He who wears the shoe knows best where it pinches."

Particular attention should be paid to hair and nails; they should be washed with soap and water. This would be most convenient as the victim would be in the bathroom anyway.

Finally, do remember to tell people who are anxious to be among the Saved (your contributor is not—the shrinking coward) that "The best defence against chaos and confusion would be a resolute spirit of self-reliance, based not on groundless optimism, but on knowledge of the facts."

M. BROWN.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The **SOCIALIST STANDARD**, **WESTERN SOCIALIST** and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park ... 3.30—5 p.m.
East Street
(Walworth) Feb. 2nd 12 noon
" 9th 1 p.m.
" 16th 11 a.m. & 1 p.m.
" 23rd 11 a.m.
Whitestone Pond
(Hampstead) ... 11.30 a.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Finsbury Pavement ... Tuesdays
Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

BRISTOL—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Bevis Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

MANCHESTER Sec.: J. M. Breakey, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. 'Phone: DIdbury 5709.

OLDHAM—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lee, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellon Rd., Pencuolgi, Nr. Llanelly

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (Feb. 6th and 20th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., at 7.30 p.m.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Thursdays at 8 p.m., "The Artichoke," Camberwell Church Street. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road Orpington, Kent.

BALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Baling (nr. Baling Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles. Secretary, F. Lee.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m. at 34, St. George's Square, (Wilcox, top flat) S.W.1. All correspondence to Secretary, c/o H. O., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrook, 51, Plant St., Glasgow E.1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (Feb. 12th and 26th) at 8 p.m., The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (Feb. 3rd and 17th) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardness Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: A. H. Wood, 84, Millfield Ave., Walthamstow, E.17.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m., Feb. 12th and 26th 108c, Goldhurst Terrace, (near) Finchley Road, Hampstead, N.W.6.

ISLINGTON. Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7611.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 17, Coatswood Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Enquiries to Sec. J. G. Grierley, at that address.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to F. J. Mann, 18 Larchwood Ave., Romford, Essex. Romford 5171.

WICKFORD meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m., "Skara Brae," Farm Crescent Woodham Road, Battlesbridge, Essex. Enquiries to Secretary, L. R. Plummer.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Thursdays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Lidenwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 'Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at 118, Pelham Road, Wood Green, N. 22.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DOCUMENTARY FILMS at HEAD OFFICE

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comments at H.Q.

52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4.

(near Clapham North Tube Station)

Sunday evenings at 7.30 p.m.

The meeting is then open for questions and discussion which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale. Visitors particularly welcome.

Feb. 2nd "Industrial Britain"—C. KILNER.

" 9th "The Story of D.D.T."—H. JARVIS.

" 16th "Come Saturday"—R. COSTER.

" 23rd "The Same Old Story"—S. MICHAEL.

Mar. 2nd "Socialism and Religion"—W. KERR.

ISLINGTON BRANCH LECTURE

at

CO-OP HALL, 129, SEVEN SISTERS ROAD, N.7

at 8 p.m. on

Thursday, February 27th

The "Paris Commune"—R. AMBRIDGE

LETTERS FROM READERS INVITED

Our Annual Conference in April decided that a section of the SOCIALIST STANDARD be reserved for letters from readers as a regular feature. Readers are invited to send letters of comment and criticism and questions for answer. Letters should be kept as short as possible as space is limited, and the shorter the letters the larger the number that can be printed. EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

HACKNEY BRANCH — ECONOMICS CLASS

Wednesdays, February 12th and 26th and fortnightly thereafter at 7.30 p.m.

Bethnal Green Town Hall, E.2.

Tutors: W. Read and E. Wilmott.

LEWISHAM BRANCH MEETINGS

at

DAVENPORT HOUSE,

1, DAVENPORT ROAD, RUSHEY GREEN, CATFORD, S.E.6.

Mondays at 8 p.m.

February 3rd "Socialism and the Labour Party"—A. IVIMEY.

" 17th "Trade Unions—The Socialist Attitude"—J. EDMONDS.

March 3rd "The 'H' Bomb"—E. WILMOTT.

" 17th "Food Production and Distribution"—P. LAWRENCE.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

No. 643 Vol. 54 March, 1958

The Uses of Monarchy

THE SAME OLD I.L.P.

WILL THERE BE ENOUGH
TO GO ROUND?

FIFTY YEARS AGO

NEWS FROM WALES

POLITICS IN CANADA

Registered for transmission to
Canada and Newfoundland

Monthly

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QUITE A THING HAS BEEN GOING ON recently concerning a picture of the Princess Margaret. This is virtually a repetition of what went on over the same painter's portraits of the Queen and her husband, and there is no need here to add comments or repeat arguments. What is of greater interest is the trend of which this tiny storm is part: that is, that the Royal Family to-day is as constant a news-feature as football or film-star gossip and is, in fact, more popular than royalty has been since the nation-state began. When you consider that fewer than ninety years ago the reigning monarch was tipped as the last, and a vigorous republican movement was being led by prominent politicians and writers, it is obvious that the British monarchy has somehow had a boost in recent times.

Kings and Queens, traditionally, are romantic figures, the subjects of an inculcated mythology from everybody's childhood. Every fairy tale revolves round them: once upon a time there was a Beautiful Princess or a Handsome Prince or a King who was Also a Magician. Elementary-school history devolves upon them: Merry Monarch, Good Queen, Peacemaker, Bluff King (never hooligan or wife-beater). For all that, the fact is that only for the last twenty years—if as long—has the Crown been really popular in Britain, and for a large part of the time it was very unpopular. Some idea of the change in the climate of opinion was given last year by the frenzy against critics of the Royal bearing and diction: the young Queen Victoria was ridiculed by cartoonists, and George V openly disparaged in the Press on his accession.

The idea of the monarch as head of the nation is a modern one, belonging to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and depending on the Crown's holding no political power. Mediæval kingship was a different thing. The king was supreme overlord, apex of the pyramid of feudal owning interests; his power was actual, deriving from and integral to the feudal system. This kind of monarchy declined as feudalism declined; as rival interests grew, the king became merely head of one of the contending factions. Edward IV, Richard II, Henrys Four, Five and Six were dependent on their factions, and their successors reasserted monarchy and appeared strong kings for a time only because the factions had exhausted themselves fighting.

The struggle against the monarchy was a vital part of the struggle of the rising commercial class. For half a century it held back for the struggles against the Papacy and Spain, but the storm was gathering before Elizabeth I's reign ended. The bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class, needing control of the powers of government: the execution of Charles I was, in fact, the decapitation of an epoch.

After the swan-song of the Restoration and James II's short, pitiful reign, the Whigs had one political aim above all others: to keep the Stuarts, with their feudal traditions and their Papal associations, off the throne. Even William III, brought and maintained by the Whigs as mere figurehead, was never pushed too far by them for fear he should name a Stuart as his successor.

Thus, the Hanover family was imported to be the new Crown dynasty, with nothing to commend them and the populace not prepared, as the 1715 and 1745 rebellions showed, to lift a finger to support them. Drunken, stupid George I, of whom Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote "Our customs and laws were all mysteries to him, which he neither tried to understand, nor was capable of understanding if he endeavoured it," and Lord Chesterfield said: "The King loved pleasure, and was not delicate in his choice of it. No woman came amiss to him, if they were very willing and very fat"; George II, full of senseless cruelty; George III, shaking hands with the trees in Windsor Park. Of the whole bunch, indeed, Sir Charles Petrie wrote in his *Monarchy in the Twentieth Century*: "There had clearly been a streak of abnormality . . . from the beginning." A nineteenth-century poet, Landor, expressed it more feelingly:

"When George the Fourth from earth descended,
Thank God the line of Georges ended."

However, it was with the Georges on the throne that the modern concept of monarchy developed. Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King*, published in 1749, proposed (although Bolingbroke had the Stuarts in mind) the monarchy as the embodiment of national ideals, and after the final collapse of Jacobite opposition this became accepted as the real function of monarchy. In fact, there were no interests now that the monarch could represent other than the "national" ones—that is, those of the propertied classes as a whole. No longer an overlord, removed from control of armed forces, set up in maintenance of bourgeois interests against those of the old order, the king had become King Capital's torch-bearer.

Whatever remained of royal power and prestige sank to rock-bottom in Victoria's early years. Her predecessors had shown as much interest as they were permitted in government; Victoria's acquiescence established the convention that the Crown did not take part any more. The working class had little reason for enthusiasm, and the ruling class no longer had to support this dynasty in case something worse came along. When Victoria withdrew from public life after her husband's death, a strong movement headed by Thackeray, J. R. Green, Morley, Joseph Chamberlain, Bradlaugh and several more asked if the monarchy were necessary at all. The movement faded, principally because the Empah-builders found the Crown too useful a figurehead, but the Crown had learned that it ought to show itself in public.

For that reason, the last years of Victoria's reign had royal display in plenty, and Edward VII gained still greater benefit from pageantry. It is doubtful if the monarchy became much more popular in Edward's time, except among the beer-swilling and odds-laying sections, but he did open an important new field for the ruling class by carrying regal display—and with it, British interests—abroad. His visit to Paris, starting with compliments to actresses and ending with cheering crowds in the streets,

in 1903 prepared the ground for the Franco-British Entente. Lansdowne and Grey conducted the negotiations, but the French President spoke of the "happy impetus" given to them by Edward's window-show. Subsequent monarchs and their families have done as much and more.

There has been one other important influence in the twentieth century in securing the position of the British monarchy: the rise of rival nations with other kinds of figureheads. First the Kaiser, then Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin caused the thought that, if this kind of thing were the modern alternative, there was something to be said for the British monarchy after all. George V was never greatly popular, but in the nineteen-thirties he was almost the only national figurehead in Europe whose public utterances were not inflammatory harangues on war and encirclement.

The real reason why the King never did so, apart from whatever personal inclination he may have had, was simply that it was not his place to speak as a leader or to state foreign policy. The monarchy in modern times is devoid of political power or autonomy. The last time a British monarch expressed himself independently on a political matter was when Edward VIII showed concern over the slums of Glasgow and South Wales; few people believed that the King's wish to marry Mrs. Simpson was the only issue in the constitutional crisis of 1936. However, many people must have been given food for thought by the fact that potentially the most popular of all British monarchs was dismissed, as summarily as a worker from a factory, when he refused to toe the line laid down by the Cabinet on behalf of the ruling class.

If there was doubt among pro-capitalist politicians in the nineteenth century of the usefulness of monarchy, there is none today. The Conservative Party has never wavered in supporting monarchy, of course; and, since the first Ministers in the first Labour Government made their low obeisances, nor has the Labour Party. Indeed, in the Abdication crisis the Labour Party was solidly behind the Conservative Cabinet, and the *Daily Herald's* commentary was undistinguishable from that of the *Mail* or the *Express*. And since the war there has been ample opportunity—a royal wedding, an accession, a coronation, and a great deal of subsidiary display—to see the cap-touching and sycophancy which make plain the allegiance of a party which initially gained support by big talk about the abolition of privilege.

The only Labour criticism of royalty in fairly recent times was made from the viewpoint of what was good for Capitalism. Shortly after the coronation of George VI, Mr. Attlee spoke of the need for the Crown to come down to the man in the street a bit more—and found Conservatives agreeing heartily ("For them he must be no mere king in a gilt State coach," wrote Wilson Harris in *The Spectator*). That policy was pursued with a vengeance, less with George VI himself than in the preparation of his daughter for the throne. No monarch ever started off so well for popularity: a popularity favoured by youth, romance and motherhood and skilfully fostered by every newspaper in the land (most of all, incidentally, by the pro-Labour *Mirror* and *Pictorial*).

The present Royal Family comes as close as any

capitalist politician could desire to the modern monarchical ideal. No interference in politics, but a worthy interest in science; admirably suited to gather prestige abroad; most of all, a continual and absorbing attraction to the working class. There have been hints recently that the publicity has been overdone, that there have been too many chambermaids' reminiscences and news items like the *Sunday Pictorial's* announcement that the Queen's bust-line had improved to maintain the essential dignity of royalty. Nevertheless, the Crown today as never before embodies the national ideals—the ideals, that is, of the national ruling class.

But does monarchy serve any interest for ordinary people, beyond giving a holiday and a pageant now and then? It may be said that if it does them no good, it does them no harm either. If it were true that to fill people's heads with nonsense did no harm, that might be so; and most of it is nonsense. There is no reason for thinking that the Queen and her husband are not pleasant.

LIFE IN A COUNTRY VICARAGE

MUCH has been written of late years about the poverty borne by ministers of the Church. How prices have soared leaving the faithful priest to plod along as best he may, while his naughty flock seek bigger and bigger wages to squander on the things of the flesh. We are all familiar with this sort of literature.

But now, instead of a nasty discontented socialist, a Man of God steps forward to explode the myth. For myth it is.

In the *Daily Telegraph* (25-10-57), a Shropshire parson reports that things are still quite enjoyable. The minimum stipend (basic wage in plain English) is £600 a year.

"To this figure of hard cash must be added a large attractive house, garden and glebe, which are home" for a wife and two children; a hunter—18 days last season—a pony, a Jersey cow, and two dozen laying hens; fruit, vegetables and hay for the cultivating and collecting; and a power-house where I hope, meetings and fêtes can be held, and parishoners entertained, my soul surgery in fact."

And this is not all. Our spiritual superior excels us on the material level too. For he adds that there is a

decent people. If things were otherwise, however, the truth is that they would still be presented as paragons. Some monarchs have been cruel, irresponsible and contemptibly low, but their subjects have still been asked for reverence. Within a week of Edward VIII's abdication his shortcomings were common knowledge, and Sir Charles Petrie (in the book already quoted) hinted at a strain of abnormality in Edward from the Hanover ancestry; would those things have been said if Edward had remained the King?

It is not the monarch that is at fault in all this, but the social system which needs a shining symbol; where there is no monarchy, something else has to be held up to dazzle the dispossessed. The man with the flag and the girl admiring the pictures in her magazine have the light full in their eyes just now—but they need only look away for a moment to see who holds it up, and why.

ROBERT COSTER.

MOONSHINE AND SATELLITES

It is now evident that the science-fiction stories of yesterday are becoming the realities of today. Man is now literally "reaching for the stars" even though his feet still remain embedded in the mire of archaic institutions. Can it be that nauseated, mal-nourished and diseased—as it is—Humanity feels that its only salvation lies in the vastness of outer space? Does the cold, impersonality of the twinkling Firmament suggest that somewhere, Earth's children will find ultimate rest on some plane different from that of their native element? This, if it is the case, savours somewhat of the idealistic religious philosophies with which man has sustained himself throughout the ages of his painful conquest of physical environment. Some, there are, who do, indeed,

find solace in the constant stretching of the sinews of science out and beyond the confines of Earth for the above-mentioned reasons. This is of course a naive as well as a dangerous outlook.

We agree that it is in man's nature as a thinking animal that he should continue to drag his way, relentlessly forward avoiding here, overcoming there, moving at an irregular pace, sometimes crawling, sometimes plunging—always with courage—towards some goal which some day will satisfy his dignity. This is no mere speculation. History is the story of the tortuous caravansary of human progress; the countless mirages that have beckoned only to deceive; the countless pitfalls dug with the tools of ignorance. It is a tale of leaders and

M. BROWN.

the leadership cult: The Moses and the Moguls, Popes and Princes and all the fakirs and financiers that ever were. It is the tale of the primitive creature laboriously shaping his piece of stone and the gradual birth of the aesthetic. It is the mural winding its way back through time depicting courage, and above all concern for one's own kind, the individual and the tribe. It is an examination of what goes to make up the fabric of total existence.

We feel that we must raise our small voice at this juncture. In an age of, among other things the big lie we ask our readers to pause and think. It is easy to be carried away by the romance of the red satellite and to be over-awed by the destructive force of the hydrogen bomb (both the home and away variety). It is indeed easier for us to stop thinking altogether—to allow others to do it for us. On the other hand, if we are not content that this shall be the age of the last historian, the utter finality of reason the supreme violation of nature and human life, we, the vast majority, must cry "cease." We must recognise the true nature of what is going on. Divorced of romanticism, we should realise that the various agents of world capitalism have reached the stage of being no longer able to disagree in the old-fashioned way, i.e., to compete with each other at the expense of wars that can be conducted with some degree of assurance; a kind of war where *all* is not lost apart from the loss of life for which due preparation and allowance is made. The fact now is, that capitalism has resolved itself into

large power groups with the Russian and American orbits the most powerful. The next step is, obviously, to find ways and means whereby one or the other is to assume complete control of the world. The answer appears to be that this can be done by means of devices of which the inter-Continental rocket and the artificial earth satellite are the fore-runners.

It is perfectly obvious that Capitalism is not imbued with the romantic ideals that so many workers have regarding the experiments now going on to conquer outer space. Trips to the moon may sound thrilling enough to some people. Capitalism is far more "down to earth" than they give it credit for.

In the meantime we urge fellow members of the working class to see this politic moonshine in its true light and to do a little prospecting on their own account. This old planet of ours is far from finished despite the maltreatment handed out to it of late.

There are plenty of conquests to be made here and now, e.g., disease, poverty, ignorance and subjection. The rub is, that they will never be vanquished by any form of space warfare other than complete destruction of the human race. Our task may not sound as interesting as the work now going on to master space. Never-the-less it is the most important job facing the world's people at the present time. It is the eradication of Capitalism itself—and we need not go to the moon or anywhere else to do this job.

W. BRAIN.

WILL THERE BE ENOUGH TO GO ROUND?

A Dramatic Fragment

Scene: Speakers' Corner: Time: The present (although basically it could be anytime back to 1904). Socialist speaker addressing audience from platform.

Socialist speaker: . . . under Socialism, when the means of wealth production and distribution will be common property, all goods will be produced solely to satisfy human needs, and will be freely available to all

Questioner: Rubbish! There wouldn't be enough to go round.

Soc. S.: There isn't enough to go round *now* because, under capitalism, goods are not produced primarily to satisfy needs, but for sale and profit. A superabundance of any commodity (such as wheat in U.S.A. and Canada) is likely to mean a drastic fall in price and possible ruin for the capitalist; hence production is curtailed and goods even destroyed to keep the price up. Capitalism is *not* a system of plenty, it is one of organised shortage.

Q.: But suppose everyone wanted a Rolls Royce car or a yacht under Socialism? You don't mean to tell me that there would be enough for *everyone* to have one?

Soc. S.: Its *always* yachts and Rolls Royces, *never* water, wheat, or bricks. Why? Probably because ninety-nine per cent. of workers will never be in a position to own either a Rolls or a yacht; owning these symbols of luxury is a sort of pipe-dream workers indulge in, like

winning £75,000 on the "pools." Rich people don't waste their time worrying about owning these things—they don't have to. They *may* own a Rolls, they *may* run a yacht, or a magnificent mansion full of servants, but what do a lot of them tell us? Why, that their needs are very simple—they boast of living on orange juice and salads, and ordering their lives like trappist monks. Indeed, some seem only too glad to get away from their Rolls Royces and get about on horse-back. Anyway, why would you want to own a Rolls Royce?

Q.: Because its the best car in the world, and you yourself said earlier on that only the best would be produced under Socialism.

Soc. S.: You've been reading those classy adverts. I can see! Ignoring for a moment the question of whether Rolls Royces could be turned out like Fords (and there's no real reason why they could not be), what about owning a car at all? You ask any commercial traveller who spends a large part of his day behind the wheel of a car under modern traffic conditions—I'll bet he would be only too pleased to wave goodbye to his car for ever, if he could. It's like the story of the sailor who had spent all his life at sea and was fed up with it: his ambition was to walk inland carrying an oar, and to settle at the first place where someone asked him what it was he was carrying. Luckily people like a change.

and not all want the same things.

Q.: Let's get back to the point. If goods under Socialism are free, surely people will demand more of everything?

Soc. S.: Don't you think that the millions living in poverty throughout the world (especially in places like India and Egypt) *should* have more?

Q.: Oh yes, but there are millions of others who are used to better living standards—they would want much more than just having enough rice and a roof over their heads.

Soc. S.: You mean that in "civilised" countries we are constantly bombarded by advertisements on hoardings, in newspapers, buses, and tube-trains, and on television, all telling us that we *must* own the commodities they advertise at the risk of social, or even physical, death. You'll lose your girl-friend if you don't wash with a certain soap or brush your teeth with the new, *pink*, toothpaste; and who had heard of "night starvation" before the advertisers told us how it could ruin our career, our marriage, and our life generally? Even in Lambeth the Jones must keep up with the Robinsons: their pram must be as big and shiny, and they, too, must have a T.V. aerial, even if there isn't a T.V. set at the other end. It is plain that a lot of the "demand" today has been artificially created, and would be non-existent under a sane order of society.

Q.: But even so, wouldn't the greedy people take more than their share, after all, it's only human nature. . .

Soc. S.: Human nature! Oh, what terrible crimes have been committed in your name! To answer your question about "greedy" people with a timely example: Christmas is not long past—most workers indulged in a brief orgy as slight compensation for a year's scrimping and scraping to get along. Houses were stocked up with expensive food and drink—everyone ate their fill, and then? Why, after Boxing Day, turkey became more and more unpopular, and anyone was welcome to the drink. See my point? Take another example—water is vital to life, and it is to all intents and purposes free. But because of this, people don't go round filling themselves

up with water until they burst. *Shortages* tend to make people scramble for more than they really need—remember the ridiculous rushes at the shops when sweets first came off the ration but were still in short supply? Some people hoarded pounds of sweets, not because they particularly wanted them, but because they were frightened there suddenly wouldn't be any left. As a matter of fact, there have been recent experiments in American prisons which prove this point—do you read the *Sunday Times*? *Q.:* I haven't time to read those big papers—too much in them.

Soc. S.: In an article about the American penal system in the issue of 8th December, H. Montgomery Hyde, M.P., wrote about this new experiment he had seen working in several prisons he had visited. He noticed stacks of packets of cigarettes to which the inmates were invited to help themselves, *free of charge*. Mr. Montgomery Hyde wrote: "I was told that this had put an end to the illicit operations of the former 'tobacco barons,' and that the amount of smoking had actually declined in consequence."

Q.: I don't see the point of bringing all *that* in.

Soc. S.: Don't you? I think we can agree that convicts are less likely to act in a social manner than, say, a group of policemen. . .

Q.: Oh! no, we can't!

Soc. S.: Well, don't let's argue about that. The point is that tobacco is very scarce in most prisons—in fact, most convicts are not allowed any at all. The result of making it freely available was that the men were no longer worried about where their next smoke was coming from: *although the cigarettes were free*, the convicts apparently smoked less rather than more, as *you* might have expected them to.

Q.: Yes, I see your point. But how will we produce enough under Socialism? Who will do the work?

Soc. S.: Well, that's another question, and as someone over on this side of the meeting was asking earlier about who would do the "dirty work" under Socialism, perhaps I can deal with both these points together. . .

M. L.

NEWS FROM WALES

FOR many generations the manufacture of steel and tin-plate, together with coal mining, has been the means of livelihood for the vast majority of South Wales workers (see article "How to attract workers" SOCIALIST STANDARD, May, 1957). Now, thousands of men with years of accumulated skill in the production of steel and tin-plate and not without a certain pride in their craft, despite the notorious arduousness of the industry, find themselves redundant.

At the time of writing, approximately 7,500 are out of employment—with more to follow. The reason given is that the industry is going through a process of modernisation. Automation is, of course, inevitable under a system of mass production and it is not a question of whether we approve of it or not. No Socialist would support a system of manufacture which takes the maximum toll of flesh and blood as the tinplate industry in Wales has done throughout the years.

The concentration of production now taking place in four super factories has improved in *some respects* the lot of a much smaller labour force. This smaller army, geared to high speed machinery, has already created new records in steel tonnage. Stocks are mounting quicker than they can be sold.

It is obvious that the Steel Company has been forced to increase its investments in modern plant whilst attempting to decrease the labour force. The snag is, of course, that more and more invested Capital needs to be utilized in the attempt to capture markets by means of quantity and cheapness, whilst this very method tends to decrease their rate of profit, compared with the old days of cheap flesh and blood with a minimum of machinery. In the meantime, even their super factories have had to slow down

Sometime or other demand will no doubt rise again,

but these ups and downs present a problem that is insoluble within capitalism.

The army of the unwanted grows. Once again we are back to the dole queues. Once more the pot of jam is making its appearance more frequently on the family table to the exclusion of more sustaining fare. Once more the working class house-wife is forced to deny her family in order to pay the rent. Only this time the rents, especially on the Council Estates, are very much on the up and up.

There is, of course, no way out of such a situation apart from taking over the means of production. When this happens the shiny new factories will be really utilized. They will be manned by workers with a new interest in their work. Work will be a necessary task shared by all so that all can obtain the benefit of leisure

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Socialism or Palliated Capitalism?

Great has been the abuse levelled against The Socialist Party of Great Britain because of the fact that from its inception it has steadfastly set itself against the advocacy of palliatives or improvements that "strengthen the existing system of Society." No other party in this country occupies a similar position, and many who were once opposed to it on this particular point have been converted to its views. To those who still persist in such advocacy let us ask: "What are you out for?" Some will probably reply: "We are out for Socialism, but we know the working class cannot understand and struggle for Socialism until they are better fed and better housed than at present." And so they concentrate on feeding, housing, etc. If there were evidence to show that all well-fed and

and product. The product itself will be freely distributed so that surpluses and unemployment will no longer arise.

In the meantime, the Welsh steel worker is issuing distress signals to his Union leaders, Councillors and M.P.'s, all of whom are scuttling around interviewing Government Ministers, etc. The clergy are praying for the workers too. Congregations suffer when there are upheavals in the community pattern as occurred during the last depression when thousands emigrated to other parts of the country.

The members of the Socialist Party in Wales continue to put forward the case to the best of their ability. It is up to the workers to analyse it. They are going to have plenty of time on their hands in which to do so.

W. BRAIN.

well-housed workers were in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, one could understand their attitude. But there is none. Does it follow that those who throw off the shackles of religion, or who secure a "clear head" by giving up alcoholic liquors become Socialists? No, in very many cases they are pronounced anti-Socialists. And is the study of Socialism taken up and revolutionary change advocated by the well-fed domestics and flunkies or by those whose efficiency as wage-slaves is studied by such "model" employers as the Cadburys, Levers, and the like? There is no more justification in arguing that the working class must be well fed, well clothed and decently housed before they can understand and organise for Socialism than there is for the opposite attitude that it is necessary to starve and grind them down before any real consciousness of their position and determination to alter it will possess them.

(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, March, 1908.)

POLITICS IN CANADA

THE worker of today is so little interested in politics that in all the parliaments of the present day world there is not a single individual who can be said to represent his interests. This is true in Britain where there is a large Labour Party representation and where there have been three labour governments in recent years. It is true in the United States where there is no Labour Party representation and where there has never been a Labour government. It is true in Russia where the government for the last forty years has called itself Communist. And it is true in Canada where Liberals and Conservatives have been changing places and holding hands in governing the country ever since Confederation.

Nothing is more certain than that the workers of Canada are content to give their continued support to the system that enslaves them. At every election there are four major parties and a varying number of smaller parties seeking the support of the electorate, and all of them propose to preserve the present order of society. They have this in common regardless of the features that seem to distinguish them. Leading the list are the

Liberals and Conservatives. Behind them a few paces are the Social Creditors and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. And bringing up the rear are the Union Nationale group of Quebec, the Communist Party and occasional new groups or offshoots from existing groups.

The "Old Lins"

Up until last June, and for 22 years previously, the Liberal Party held undisputed control of the government. Capitalism was in vogue at the time of its rise to power; it was still in full bloom at the end of this period; and at no time in between was there any suggestion by any member of the Liberal Party that it ought to be replaced by another system of society—in spite of the fact that its 22 continuous years in office saw the country pass through the world's worst depression and the world's worst war. This period in office, combined with all the other periods it has held office during the 90 years that have passed since the country became self-governing, show that in spite of a surface radicalism that affects some of its members at times, the Liberal Party is constitutionally incapable of harbouring a single thought

that reaches beyond the limitations of capitalist society, no matter how rotten this society may become.

It is true that Liberal governments over the years have brought into effect an impressive assortment of reforms (such as unemployment insurance, family allowances, and so on), which were all supposed to have added up to a better life; but it is also true that life has not improved to the point where people generally, even the Liberals, are over-exerting themselves boasting about it. This is a subject to which the reformers could well devote a considerable amount of thought.

The Conservative Party evolved a few years back into the Progressive Conservative Party. This bit of face lifting was instigated by John Bracken, who had been for many years the premier of a "Liberal-Progressive" government in Manitoba and who rose from the ranks of the Liberal-Progressives to become the leader of the Conservative Party. Mr. Bracken failed to win any elections for the Conservatives and he was hurried out of politics and back to Manitoba, where he became an authority on model liquor legislation; but the "Progressive" prefix which was his historic contribution to Conservatism in Canada is still with us and is still as rich in content as it was in the days before Mr. Bracken found that Manitoba needed his expert consideration to the cup that cheers. Progressive-Conservatism today is still the staunch unyielding upholder of capitalism that plain, simple, unprogressive Conservatism was a generation ago.

To determine the differences between the Liberal Party and the Progressive Conservative Party would require microscopic perception. And what the electioneering was all about last May and June is something that very few people today could tell about. The Liberal Party didn't stand for very much except its record. And not to be outdone the Progressive-Conservative Party, too, didn't stand for very much except the Liberal Party's record. And since they both stood for the same thing they both came very close to being elected. There is no doubt that Mr. Diefenbaker, the Progressive-Conservative leader, was just as surprised as Mr. St. Laurent, the Liberal leader, who in turn must have been just as surprised as the average person to learn that Tweedledee had just nosed out Tweedledum. At any rate, last June saw the passing, for the present at least, of Liberalism in Canada, whatever that was, to be replaced in the places of power by Progressive-Conservatism, whatever that may be that is different, and the workers may look forward to the next four or five years without surprises—at least pleasant ones.

Social Credit

Canada holds the distinction of having given birth to the first government devoted to the idea that money is neither more nor less than pieces of paper identified as money simply (to use its own term) by the scratch of the banker's pen. This group is the Social Credit Party and it now holds control of two provincial governments, the governments of Alberta and British Columbia. In Alberta Social Credit has held office for more than 21 years, first gaining power in 1936. The B.C. group has been in office a smaller period of time.

The theories of Social Credit were originated a generation ago by a certain Major Douglas of England,

whose central proposition came under the heading of an A plus B theorem which was intended to explain a condition that Major Douglas described as an absolute deficiency in purchasing power. In depression times this sort of thing sounded good to a lot of people who didn't have enough to eat, and Social Credit gained a certain support in England, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere. An amusing thing about this movement is the fact that it gained its greatest support in Alberta, where it was probably least understood. None of the leading members of the Alberta Social Credit group has ever shown that he understood Social Credit. Even the late Wm. Aberhart, the first Social Credit premier of Alberta, who was so highly regarded by his supporters that he was once described as a man with God-given guidance, proved many times that he never had the faintest grasp of what Major Douglas was talking about. Not that it mattered. The theories of Major Douglas and Mr. Aberhart were equally foolish. Mr. Aberhart, who was a preacher, gave expression to a mixture of backwoods bible-thumping and false, but popular notions on why people were hungry, and he called this Social Credit. Major Douglas was quite disturbed at this and for a time Social Credit in England would have nothing to do with Social Credit in Alberta. But this is old and unimportant history and all that needs now to be mentioned is that the Social Credit movement today makes no effort to justify its existence on a theoretical base. It gives no noticeable lip service to the ideas of either Major Douglas or Mr. Aberhart. It rides the crest of the boom that has come to Alberta and B.C., takes to itself credit for the boom, promises more of the same, and in all respects behaves as if it had never heard of the funny money theories that helped so much to bring it to prominence in Canadian politics. Social Credit has settled down to the comfortable and orthodox behaviour that workers whose brains are politically at ease find so acceptable today.

J. M.
(S. P. of Canada.)

(To be continued.)

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTION

Hackney branch is putting forward three candidates in the Bethnal Green Division in the forthcoming L.C.C. elections, which take place in April.

Canvassing is taking place within the division, and a number of indoor and outdoor meetings are being held, which are advertised elsewhere in this issue.

An election manifesto is being prepared, and it is hoped to distribute this throughout the whole of the constituency, which contains over 60,000 voters. This will necessitate a considerable effort on the part of the membership and all members and sympathisers who are prepared to assist should attend at the campaign headquarters any week-day evening from 7 p.m. from Monday, March 17th onwards. The headquarters are to be 56, Weymouth Terrace, E.2 (near Odeon Cinema).

It is hoped to hold two election challenge meetings just prior to the election, and these will be advertised in the April issue.

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OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

THE SAME OLD I.L.P.

FROM time to time the I.L.P. makes proposals for uniting itself with the S.P.G.B. and various other organisations. One such approach to us was made early in 1954, and at the end of 1957 the I.L.P. in conjunction with several small groups, repeated the proposal. The S.P.G.B.'s attitude is always the same. We are not prepared to associate with organisations which carry on propaganda for the reform of capitalism, recruit members on that basis and seek the votes of reformists. Our case is that work for Socialism is the essential end and it cannot be combined with reformism. The I.L.P.'s answer to this is to claim that since 1932 they also have accepted this principle. They say so, but their activities and propaganda belie the claim. In 1954, for example, their unity scheme was a manoeuvre to detach the local Labour Parties from the Labour Party, on the plea that the "well-meaning Socialists who are members of the political section of the Labour Party are continually frustrated . . . when their ideas and resolutions are voted down with soul-destroying monotony," by the block vote of the trade unions at Labour Party conferences. The reply of the S.P.G.B. pointed out that the membership of the local Labour Parties is no more Socialist than the rest of the party. This was illustrated at the time from the list of resolutions put on the Labour Conference agenda by the local parties, all of which were for reforms of various kinds, all assuming the continuance of capitalism.

Kelvingrove

The I.L.P. has been in the news with its candidate at the Kelvingrove by-election, running in opposition to Labour and Tory. The I.L.P. claimed that their candidate was fighting for Socialism, against the Tory "politi-

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cal gangsters of the ruling class," and against the Labour politicians who on all issues behave no better than the Tories.

The editorial of the "Socialist Leader" (1st Feb., 1958) ended with a declaration of "socialist" independence:—

"The party of Keir Hardie and James Maxton enters the fray with a song in its heart. It has nothing to fear from the charlatans and lick-spittles of the other parties. It will seek to convince the men and women of Kelvingrove that only by Socialism can the challenge of these stupendous times be met. And it will not compromise its policy and programme to win votes."

Unfortunately, even if the Editor meant what he wrote to be taken literally, it is evident that other members of the I.L.P., including their candidate, Mr. William Park, do not.

"Cross-Bencher" in the *Sunday Express* (9/2/58) reported that the Labour Party leaders were worried about the I.L.P. intervention because they feared that the I.L.P. candidate would filch from the Labour Party its "pacifist" voters. Was this imputation of I.L.P. vote-catching unjust? Mr. William Park, the I.L.P. candidate, made it clear that it was not. While reiterating his refusal to "indulge in vote-catching" he hastened to inform the Press that he did not mean it:—

"In a statement to the Press . . . William Park said that among the main points in his campaign would be a demand for unilateral disarmament, as well as the abolition of the hydrogen bomb."—(*Socialist Leader*, 1/2/58.)

There you have the never-changing I.L.P. "Socialism is the only hope" they say, and they only want the votes of Socialists: but if you happen to be a non-Socialist with pipe-dreams about Capitalism disarming and British capitalism disarming on its own, or if you think that Capitalism would be all right but for the H bomb (like it was in two world wars or in the slump between the wars!) Mr. Park wants your vote.

This disarmament policy was elaborated a week later in a resolution passed by the Annual Conference of the London and Southern Counties Division of the I.L.P. It demanded that British Capitalism should "at once" bring home all troops from abroad, and disband the armed forces, and also that it should at once take the action of "denial of British bases to all other countries." Could political ineptitude go further than this! Just how do unarmed civilians "deny" bases to the armies occupying them? Do these amateur policy-makers for British Capitalism really imagine that the other Powers would leave a strategic vacuum unoccupied? Does the I.L.P. not remember how two years ago large numbers of Hungarian workers tried to "deny" to Russia capitalism its occupancy of bases in Hungary?

The Keir Hardie-Maxton Tradition

When their editor called the modern I.L.P. the "party of Keir Hardie and James Maxton" he was certainly right, for between them these two used every conceivable form of vote-catching. Hardie, the arch-compromiser, was the originator of the I.L.P. policy of building up a reformist Labour Party with trade union backing. In his "Confession of Faith" he claimed that achievement as the measure of the success of the I.L.P.

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One of his vote-catching side-lines was the advocacy of coal nationalisation "in order that the country should have a supply of the coal without which the navy was helpless and powerless." (*Manchester Guardian*, 4/3/1912).

Maxton was a fitting successor to Hardie. At the 1923 General Election, for example, when, as usual he fought as candidate of the Labour Party, he combined a pledge to overthrow capitalism with vote-catching demands for government action to raise wages, to fix maximum prices, to reduce rents and to give Scotland "a Parliament of its own" (this to catch the nationalist vote).

On occasion Maxton, like Keir Hardie, could, with some lucidity, state the case against his own reformism, but it never cured him of it. In August, 1930, he was writing that a quarter century of reforms had convinced him of their uselessness because "before these reforms

have been fully operative such advantages as they seemed on a superficial examination to offer were eaten up by the development of new evils or by a further extension of old ones" (*New Leader*, 15th August, 1930), but within a few weeks he had become unconvinced again. He introduced a particularly stupid bill in the House of Commons designed to make capitalism pay a "living wage." The amount was to be determined by a government committee which, among other things, was to have regard to the need for "replacement and extension of capital."

But for the I.L.P. times have changed. A quarter of a century ago it had been so successful in building up the reformist Labour Party that 200 members of the I.L.P. were able to sneak into Parliament as Labour M.P.'s, and had all but destroyed the Liberal Party. Now, while the I.L.P. vote catcher at Kelvingrove was filching reformist votes from the Labour candidate, over at Rochdale it was a slightly revived Liberal Party, whose candidate was doing the same.

WHO REMEMBERS KOREA?

1953, the year in which the Korean war ended, now seems a very long time ago. Really only five years, but in the present system military violence is so common that three years of slaughter in Korea are almost forgotten. It is a frightening fact that capitalism has brought about so much blood-letting in the last five years in various parts of the world that to start discussing the Korean war in any detail is like raking over the dead past, and few would be interested.

But the events surrounding Korea and the East-West propaganda at the time aptly typify wars in general (including the small ones since Korea). A film "The U.N. in Korea" was shown at Head Office on January 12th and a Party speaker used this to illustrate the S.P.G.B. answer to war. Looking back is cold comfort for those who pin their faith in U.N.O. as a means of maintaining world peace. Korea is the blood-soaked ground where U.N.O. was in fact at war.

Liberation Propaganda

It is certainly worthwhile for workers all over the world to ask themselves when threatened with being "occupied"—does it matter whether or not we are "liberated"? Here a grim lesson is to be learned from Korea. In 1945, after about 40 years, the Koreans were "liberated" from the Japanese. The film showed that the workers under the Japanese ruling class were expected to work. They were in fact working before the Japanese went there and have done nothing but work for their own bosses since. It is a great shame that Japanese workers in common with the rest thought it in their interest to don their bosses' uniforms and go plundering for them, because, of course, workers in both occupied and occupying countries always have to work for their masters. The struggle for existence in terms of wages and conditions is fought with the enemy at home, not with fellow-workers elsewhere who are in the same position. The working-class, it must be emphasised and driven home, do not own any country anywhere. The land, the factories, the mines, the raw material, do not belong to the worker, but to State or private owners. In fact, it is because they

own nothing of the country that they have to sell the one thing that is theirs—the energy in their bodies for wages. What then does liberation really mean? Korea once again shows that one ruling class replaces the other and exploitation of the workers continues. It is the need for markets, trade outlets, mineral wealth and strategic points that sets the capitalist groups of the world at one another's throats commercially and they in turn set the workers at one another's throats militarily.

More Jargon

Both major capitalist powers in Korea, America in the South, and Russia in the North, tried hard to pass their butchery off as a campaign for ideals. One capitalist mouthpiece, the then foreign secretary of Egypt, called the war "peace action" because U.N.O. was involved. But despite charge and counter-charge, lie and counter-lie, the strategic importance and mineral wealth of Korea could not be disguised. The Chinese rulers also were not slow to see their geographic position, and "aggression" is an excellent cry to influence workers who do not understand their class position, but think nationally.

Contradiction

The film showed how vast quantities of various materials, industrial plant and buildings were destroyed to prevent their capture. The population were in chronic need of food and all other essentials, but in every war this folly is "normal."

It must not be forgotten that in 1950, when the Korean war started, the Labour Government was in power here. Those who think changing Tories for Labourites makes any difference must have very short memories.

All wars produce their heroes. A hero is one who though afraid of the boss at work endangers his life to a point which even amazes the boss when fighting other workers. General McArthur, like most good generals, never suffered a scratch, but the film did not mention him as U.N. Commander. Perhaps it is embarrassing for those in U.N.O. who try to pass as peace-lovers to

recall how McArthur wanted to use A-bombs and, after bombing Manchuria, to extend the war into China.

Is War Worth It?

In preparing notes for the meeting, the speaker found back numbers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD most helpful. It was pointed out at the meeting that while the so-called communists and the other major political parties supported the blood-letting on one side or the other, the S.P.G.B., with its traditional world working-class approach, opposed it. We said of Korea what we had said of 1914-18 and 1939-45 that there is nothing involved worth the shedding of a drop of working-class blood, that workers' interests lie together, not being at each other's throats and, having no quarrel with workers anywhere, we extend the hand of Socialist fraternity to all workers and continue working for Socialism. It does not matter who is the ruler, home-grown or foreign, it is against rulers as a class world wide that workers should organise and politically not militarily, to prefer one gang to another is pointless.

Quoting from *The Times* (28/7/53) the SOCIALIST STANDARD showed that 3,000 people died for every mile of territory won, not enough to bury the dead. In all, an estimated five million were killed. After being "liberated" there were two-and-three-quarter million refugees and four million destitute in Korea. Having helped to bring about this horrible plight, U.N.O. started

a Relief Fund. But the various voluntary donations to aid the stricken population were paltry compared with the nine thousand million dollars spent in three years on ammunition. With the passing of time the political capital to be gained from posing as the champions of freedom in Korea died down. By the time Hungary came along with its promise of political advantage to Western Governments organising charity to the "freedom" fighters, the victims of capitalism in Korea were relying on adverts in newspapers to collect funds.

What of Socialism?

While the mineral wealth of the world, along with the other means of life are in the hands of the capitalist class, places like Korea with its geographic importance and its mineral wealth of copper, coal, iron, bauxite, and tungsten, etc., will remain the objects of plunder for any gang of rulers who get the chance. The alternative to these continuous thieves' quarrels is obvious. It is to make all the natural and industrial assets of the world the common property of all mankind, to finish with buying, selling, profits and wages, and start producing for free distribution on the basis of people's needs. This alternative can only be made operative by the workers first understanding the need for it and then organising for it. To bring these necessary conditions about will take a lot of work, but looking at Korea and looking at capitalism today, the need could hardly be more pressing.

H. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Productivity and the Wealth of the Capitalist Class

A reader in Australia (G. Harigen) comments on statements made at various times in these columns about the small average annual increase of productivity. He asks: "Where did the capitalist class get the wealth they have destroyed in two world wars; millions of tons of shipping, with their cargoes, wool, wheat, meat, everything ruthlessly destroyed, to say nothing of seamen and soldiers; labour-power, also a commodity?"

Reply.

In order to understand what has happened in production and in the accumulation wealth by the propertied class, our correspondent needs to consider separately the average amount produced by each worker; the rate at which it increases year by year; the total amount produced by the whole working class; and the amount of this that is accumulated in the hands of the propertied class.

Taking first the average output per worker, it is a fact that this increases very slowly, though in the early nineteenth century when industrialisation was in its infancy the rate of increase was greater (as it now is in Russia). Colin Clark, who has recently re-examined the question, estimates for Britain an increase of about 1½ per cent. a year in the later nineteenth century and in the period 1920-1938, but under 1 per cent. a year since 1945. This is based on average output per worker per hour (see *The Cost of Living*, 1957, p. 18). Estimates by other

economists do not greatly differ.

The above-mentioned rate of increase relates to the average output per worker. The total output of the whole working class has increased since pre-war days at a faster rate because there are many more workers at work (unemployment of 1,500,000 went, more married women go out to work, and the population of working age is larger). Also hours of work are rather longer because more overtime is worked and this has more than offset the nominal reduction of standard weekly hours.

The division of the national income has changed, with an increase of the proportion going to the wage and salary earners from 56 per cent. in 1938 to 65 per cent. in 1956; a big increase in the income of farmers and a drop in the proportion going as "Rent, Dividends and Interest" (see *National Income and Expenditure*, 1957, H.M. Stationery Office). For "wages" alone (excluding clerical workers) the proportion was 38 per cent. in 1938 and 43 per cent. in 1956.

The monetary figure for "Rent, Dividends and Interest" in 1938 was £1,134 millions, and in 1956, £1,937 millions, but as a proportion of national income it has fallen from 22 per cent. to 11 per cent. (In other words it has not kept pace with the rise of prices).

There is nothing final about such changes and it is probable that the proportion of the national income going to property owners is increasing again.

There remains the question of the accumulated wealth of the propertied class as distinct from their annual income. The war-time destruction of property (estimated at £7,000 million) fell, of course, primarily on the propertied class. Part was covered by "aid" from U.S.A.

and some or all of the remainder has been made good out of the surplus value taken from production since the war.

The above figures are not at all inconsistent with the fact that the propertied class, then and now, own the overwhelming proportion of the accumulated wealth of the country, for their accumulated wealth is not merely what they retain out of production each year, but is largely made up of what they have retained in previous years and inherited from the past generation of property owners.

ED. COMM.

Truths and Facts

To the Editor.

Dundee

The writer of an article which appeared in the January edition of the SOCIALIST STANDARD under the heading of "Get it Straight in 1958" has given a false analogy between a geometrical truth and a historical fact. He writes: "Every-one knows the shortest distance between two points is a straight line: a simple, unanswerable, self-evident proposition. Who, then, could fail to think and act on it?" What he fails to understand here is that the propositions of mathematics are the outcome of cold calculated thought, while the contrary is the case as regards history, where we have the passions and actions of men to deal with, which, of course, have nothing in common with the abstract truths of mathematics. For the former rules only in the realm of thought, while the latter rules in historical facts, which are not the outcome of reamed truth. History is not motivated by truth. If it were there would be no history. What is self-evident for mathematics can in no way bear a relation to historical motivation that does move, not exist for truth. It is true that we are all prepared to accept the truths of mathematics, but it is an error to think that because of this, we should all, therefore, be prepared to accept the teachings of Socialism. And from the very fact that people are not motivated by the straight line to Socialism, is proof that history from that point of view is not concerned with moving in straight lines, or truths.

R. SMITH.

Dundee.

Reply.

Our correspondent might have been on sound ground if the article referred to had been based simply on analogy; if it had argued that because mathematically the shortest distance between two points is a straight line, and for that reason only, therefore there can only be one way of getting Socialism. But the article did not say that. What it did was to point out, on evidence, that the indirect approach to Socialism of the reformists had not arrived at Socialism and is not in process of arriving at Socialism. The argument would stand if the analogy had not been mentioned.

Also in another respect our correspondent misses the point. He writes that the mathematical analogy is no reason why "we should all be prepared to accept the teaching of Socialism." But the article did not suggest that. It was not dealing with *all* people and their readiness or unreadiness to accept the Socialist case. It dealt specifically with people who had already accepted the essence of the Socialist idea, but who thought that the indirect, reformist, way would lead to Socialism. They thereby led themselves and others away from Socialism.

Our correspondent tells us that in history we are dealing with men's passions and actions "which have nothing in common with the abstract truths of mathematics." This may be true but it is pointless. It misses

the important truth that men's passions and actions can be modified by thought and theory. The S.P.G.B. has always insisted on the practical futility and positive danger of working class actions guided by passion and sentiment instead of by thought and understanding. The more the Socialist case is accepted the less passionate futility there will be and the quicker the progress to Socialism. Men today do not have to go on repeating the stupidities of past history just because it happened.

The study of history has little purpose if it does not enable us to avoid errors of past generations that had not the advantage of being able to study history. We want the present generation to avoid the reformist errors of their fathers. Does our correspondent think we should refrain from trying to do this?

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

Should We Organize into Political Parties?

To the Editor.

Croydon,

Surrey.

To become party to one idea or aim is to close the mind with regard to all other explanation. We are guided in our ideas by the intuition, and through this the principles of thought. However, "the principle" is to be compared with the hand which guides the torch beam. These "principles" guide every thought and, of course, every action. But, principles are plastic and, as such, can be applied universally.

Parties of a necessity fail, simply because of the negation of this. The "party" restricts the application of any universals, by postulating particular laws of thought and action. Philosophically, rules such as this do not promote plasticity of thought, but restricts the idea (Locke) to inaction.

The parties, because they are viewing "part" of a whole, have rules of conduct which guides the principles; but this is contradictory, for the principles must guide the rules and codes. And, cause to effect, the party ceases to analyse its own rules of conduct; the party-minded are specialists—and like all such, view but a section of the whole.

If the mind is made to concentrate on particulars, it stagnates for want of fresh material. Singular ideas are of little use, unless they are referred to the general principle, remembering that the whole is but the sum total of its parts. All of those particular subjects we know exist, are but of a whole, the universe is made up of particulars, but to try to explain the universe by its particulars would be quite erroneous, but this is the near intention of parties! They erroneously try to explain the whole which exists in the "society" by adopting a fixed opinion, for things are much more than your principles, and they need the plastic mind.

Parties also fail when they insure and secure themselves against expediency—for they fail to see round their narrowness of ideas—that they are expedient in being partisan.

There is a tendency to identify oneself with the ideas which one has, to the point of prestige, and this too, do the parties do and, as a result, they become intolerant of any idea outside their own, and criticise unmercifully any suggestion against the "party-aim"; to observe and study the truth more than often means that the student is unsuccessful in society, and so it is that the party which studies the truth will anyway never succeed in this society, by that one point; but neither will it succeed among students of truth, for the truth denies that we become party to it.

Yours faithfully,

M. NAIRNE.

Reply.

Our correspondent has set out to state what appears to him to be principles of over-riding importance, but in purely general terms and without attempting to examine the consequences of applying them.

His general proposition appears to be that to form

a political party involves concentrating on certain aspects and disregarding other aspects. As against this he wants, apparently, that individuals should not form parties but should "study the truth."

This is all very interesting to those who can live mentally in a void, but what about the solution of the practical problems before us? Capitalism exists. Its machinery of government is controlled by political parties which use their control to perpetuate capitalism. What do unorganised "students of truth" do about this? Accord-

ing to our correspondent they must not form a political party to remove capitalism and establish Socialism, because to do so would require the (to our correspondent) undesirable concentration on the problem of removing capitalism and establishing Socialism.

Since there is no other way to achieve the desired end our correspondent would have us abandon the end—and put up with capitalism. If this is not what he means and accepts, it is for him to come down to earth and tell us.

ED. COMM.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

A MIDST much ballyhoo and publicity, with a prologue about "tyrants and freedom," spoken by the famous Cecil B. de Mille, and a small orchestra to get one "in the mood" by playing excerpts from "Kismet" and other "Eastern" music, a film—"The Ten Commandments" is currently showing at the Plaza, W.I.

Like all other things, this film was made chiefly to create a profit and stimulate interest in the Christian religion, and when you ask the prices of admission you'll realise that Mr. de Mille must be doing very nicely. The writer would like to warn anybody who may want one of the colourful programmes, that if you tender a shilling, expecting sixpence change, you will be requested (quite politely) to give the usherette another two shillings and sixpence! Of course, you could always take along a copy of the Bible.

One doesn't have to be a Socialist to realise that if people will believe all that this film portrays, they'll believe anything! But it did leave the writer of these words asking himself a few questions. How often are we, as Socialists, accused of having "our heads in the sky"? How often, when we put forward the Socialist case, do we hear words like "Fantastic!"—"Impossible!"—"Nonsense."? The writer wonders how many critics of Socialism will applaud the obvious trickery of the cameras in "The Ten Commandments"? They may believe that wooden staffs can turn into deadly

serpents, but the idea of production for use instead of profit—"Oh no, we must have competition!"

The Israelites crossing the Red Sea (which. I was surprised to see, has a very dry bed!) is more easily believed than the idea of a world without social, colour or religious barriers!

The striking into rock, by fire, of the Ten Holy Commandments is "divine"—"heavenly," much more to be believed than the object of the S.P.G.B. printed above the Declaration of Principles, which are probably too "down to earth."

By all means, see this film which is an experience, although a bit of an expensive one! You'll hear God speaking in a croaky American accent, yet declaring his Ten Commandments in Hebrew. One is left to wonder how those Israelites could have been so fickle in their loves of various Gods, especially after having apparently seen such marvels of miracles.

Of course, everything about Mr. De Mille's production is a bit of a wonder, but the biggest wonder so far as I was concerned was how on earth people still believe implicitly that all of this was true. Ramesis (beautifully acted by Yul Brynner) came pretty close to the most sensible part of the whole film when, during the plague which was supposed to have been sent down by the "merciful Father" upon His people, he said, "Bah, this is not the work of any God, this is the natural order of things!"

R. J. OTTER.

RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

IN these columns we have many times answered the empty claim that Russia is a Socialist country. Those who propagate the Russian myth usually claim that private enterprise has disappeared there, and that private ownership of land and houses does not exist. None of these statements is completely true, for a whole lot of small businesses have recently sprung up in Russia, especially for house repairing and the supplying and servicing of radio and television sets. Wealthy Russians own country houses, not to mention the fact that there are the millions of peasants who own land and farm it in competition with the state farms. But all this means little, anyway, when we consider that Russia has a gigantic army (the world's largest), navy and air force,

whose real purpose is to preserve property, even if it is the collective property of the ruling class. The police force, whose function it is to preserve the state (the executive committee of the ruling class), and the immense system of secret police and internal spies which has been in existence since Tsarist days, and still performs the same function—that of preventing the ruling hierarchy from being exposed or overthrown—all testify to the existence of two classes in society, and indicates that nothing of the nature of Socialism can exist there. On top of all this, there was a law laid down by the Stalinist constitution of 1934 and still applicable today, that every factory in Russia must make a profit! Where factories fail to accomplish this it has always meant serious trouble for

the managers.

The making of profit is a fundamental of the capitalist system; socialism, of course, will not busy itself making profits and extracting wealth from the workers. This fact alone is enough to show Russia to be a capitalist state. All over the Soviet Union they have a monetary and wage system. Marx, in *Value, Price and Profit*, and elsewhere, made it clear that for him Socialism involved the abolition of the wages system, and showed that it is in the wages system that exploitation is veiled. Our pamphlet *Russia since 1917*, and the many articles in the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* make it indisputable that Russia could not be considered a socialist country.

During last November the Soviet Union celebrated the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Millions of words from the Moscow radio, and millions of words in the Soviet Press have publicised what they call the "success of Socialism." Pamphlets and books have poured out all over the world and broadcasters in many languages have been shouting themselves hoarse with the achievements of the Russian state. But nowhere do they define Socialism.

Alongside of all this jubilation they have been attacking what they call "Imperialism"—the imperial war mongers of America and England. Again they do not tell us what they mean by imperialism. Fortunately Lenin wrote a little book on the subject—one of the few that he penned that is really worth reading—and which differs from his usual rubbish in that it is not one long attack on Kautsky and others, although even here he cannot completely refrain. Lenin's usual defamatory vituperation gives place to some figures of capitalism's development, especially in Germany, and, above all, he tells us what Imperialism is in no uncertain language.

The subtitle of Lenin's *Imperialism* is "The highest stage of capitalism," and in the text he defines Imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism. In the preface to the French and German editions (1920) Lenin states:—

"Private property based on the labour of the small owner, free competition, democracy—all these catchwords with which the capitalists and their press deceive the workers and the peasants are things of the distant past. Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries. And this 'booty' is shared by two or three world-dominating pirates armed to the teeth (America, England, Japan) who embroil the whole world in their war over the division of their booty."

Today, we could put Russia in place of Japan. In the body of the book Lenin gives five facts that make up Imperialism, and these constitute the headings of the first five chapters. The first is the "Concentration of Production and Monopolies." In this he points out the enormous growth of monopolies in Germany and the elimination of the small producer. This, of course, applies to Russia today. Chapter II is "The Banks and their New Role." Here he states:—

"In proportion as banking develops and becomes concentrated in a small number of institutions, the banks grow from modest intermediaries into all-powerful monopolists having at their command almost all the money capital of all the capitalists and small businessmen, as well as the greater part of the means of production and of the sources of raw materials of a given country or in a number of countries. This transformation of numerous small intermediaries into a hand-

ful of monopolists is one of the fundamental processes of the growing of capitalism into capitalist imperialism. For that reason we must first deal with the concentration of banking."

Again, all this applies to Russia today. Consider the financing of the five-year plans and the last war.

Chapter III is headed "Finance, capital and financial oligarchy." Here Lenin quotes Hilferding as writing:—

"An ever-increasing portion of industrial capital does not belong to the industrialists who employ it. They obtain the use of it through the bank, which, as against them, represents the owner of the capital. On the other hand, the bank is forced to leave an increasing share of its funds in industry. Thus, to an ever-increasing degree the bank is being transformed into an industrial capitalist. This bank capital, i.e., capital in the form of money which is thus transformed into industrial capital, I call finance capital. . . . Finance capital is therefore 'capital controlled by the banks and utilised by the industrialists'."

Lenin remarks that this definition is incomplete, because it is silent on one of the most important points which is the growth and concentration of production and capital, otherwise he endorses it.

Chapter IV is "The Export of Capital." This is almost too well known to need emphasising. Although Russia's export of gold and of loans may be small compared to that of England in the past, loans have been made by Russia to China, capital invested in many Eastern European countries under Russian domination, and recently we have witnessed Russia's loan to Egypt which has brought her directly into the Imperialist branch of the money-lending business beyond any dispute. Now comes the drive for the controlling interests in the Middle East with its oilfields, all clearly connected with the export of capital. A *Financial Times* correspondent (27/1/58) gave particulars of Russian aid and loans to foreign countries totalling £673 million.

Chapter V is "The division of the world among the capitalist combines." Here the Soviet monopoly combine already controls Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, a large chunk of Germany, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Northern Korea—not to mention her enormous controlling influence in China and other territories in the Far and near East. If this isn't full-blooded Imperialism—then what is?

Chapter VI is an extension of the fifth with the heading, "The division of the world among the great powers." Witness the way Russia and Germany divided Poland in 1939 and Russia and America divided Germany and Korea since the second war, and Syria, Jordan and Egypt are all being pigeon-holed by the Imperialist vultures.

Towards to the end of the book Lenin writes:—

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has taken shape; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world by the international trusts has begun, and in which the partition of all the territory of the earth by the greatest capitalist countries has been completed."

According to Lenin's *Imperialism*, Russia is therefore a full-blown Imperialist state, and the giant powers are now about to re-divide the world. Russia is no longer a backward agrarian and semi-feudal land, but a highly developed and powerful capitalist state.

H. JARVIS.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

A Date to Remember. The Annual Conference is being held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, April 4th, 5th and 6th. Commencing on Friday at 11 a.m., Saturday at 1 p.m., and Sunday, 11 a.m. Each session ending at 6 p.m. Particular note should be made that the Saturday session commences at 1 p.m., this is to enable the Secretary to prepare the previous day's notes and it has been found that, as many members work on the Saturday morning, the representation is not usually up to full strength. The Annual Dance will be held on Saturday evening and a Rally will be held on Sunday evening. The General Secretary would be glad to know well in advance from Comrades requiring accommodation and also would like members who can accommodate delegates to let him know as soon as possible.

Propaganda. April is the first month that outdoor meetings start to get under way, and the Propaganda Committee will, as usual, make the best arrangements possible to "circulate" speakers to the various stations. Also Branches will make their local arrangements for meetings, but a very important factor to ensure a good propaganda season is that members make every effort to support as many meetings as possible. It is most encouraging for speakers to know that they have the active support of other comrades at meetings.

A Sympathiser at our Tower Hill meetings has presented the Party with a portable platform. This is very much appreciated and will certainly greatly assist Party work.

Companion Parties. The E.C.'s report to conferences contains interesting news of the activity of our Companion parties. The W.S.P. (U.S.A.) and S.P.C. have increased their activities—the members say this is due in some measure to the visit of Comrade Gilmac this summer.

In Canada members are holding regular meetings and are now sending out 1,400 circulars through the post each month in addition to the distribution of the "Western Socialist" and the "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

"Extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science. As the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules; and history records that whenever science and orthodoxy have been fairly opposed, the latter has been forced to retire from the lists, bleeding and crushed if not annihilated; scotched, if not slain. But orthodoxy is the Bourbon of the world of thought. It learns not, neither can it forget, and though at present bewildered and afraid to move, it is as willing as ever to insist that the first chapter of "Genesis" contains the beginning and the end of sound science; and to visit with such petty thunderbolts as its half-paralysed hands can hurl, those who refuse to degrade nature to the level of primitive Judaism."

(J. H. HUXLEY on Darwin's *Origin of Species*,

"Westminster Review," 1860.)



In Australia the Sydney Group has been very active, particularly in regard to selling literature. The Comrades have ordered a considerable number of pamphlets and SOCIALIST STANDARDS from London and have continued to run a study group and have maintained propaganda meetings in Sydney. Melbourne have continued to hold meetings in spite of the fact that the building they used was demolished during the year. They also have a Central Branch spread over Victoria and New South Wales.

In New Zealand the sales of literature are being well maintained and are also gaining new subscribers, this, despite the fact that several of their younger members emigrated to Australia during the year.

The Socialist Party of Ireland. The year has seen a resurgence of activity which culminated in publication of the "Socialist" by the Belfast comrades. This is the first regular Socialist paper to appear in Ireland and it is hoped to continue its publication monthly.

Sunday Film Lectures at Head Office. The lectures will continue throughout March; details are given elsewhere in this issue, but the last meeting of the season will be on March 30th. (The Sunday before Conference.)

P. H.

ELECTION MEETINGS BETHNAL GREEN TOWN HALL (Room 3) CAMBRIDGE HEATH ROAD, E.2

at 8.30 p.m.
Wed. March 12th. "Russia and the Communist Party"—W. READ.
" " 26th. "Socialism and the Labour Party"—A. IVIMEY.
" April 2nd. "The Bankruptcy of Conservatism"—F. JAMES.
" " 9th. "Any Questions on Socialism"—JAMES, READ and IVIMEY.
Admission Free. Question and Discussion

PUBLIC MEETINGS
SUNDAYS at 11 a.m., at Bottom of Brick Lane Market (E.1) (Near Vallance Road)

ANNUAL DANCE AND SOCIAL

at
CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1

on
SATURDAY, 5th APRIL, at 7 p.m.

Tickets 3/6

Refreshments

ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT CONWAY HALL

APRIL 4th, 5th and 6th

(Details in News Briefs)

GLASGOW DEBATE

on Sunday, 30th March at 2.30 p.m. at
St. Andrews Halls, Kent Road, Glasgow

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

v.
SOCIAL CREDIT PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

"Will Social Credit Abolish Poverty?"

S.P.G.B. - R. COSTER

S.C.L.P. - V. R. HILL

Admission Free

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box
1440, Melbourne, Australia.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box
115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick
Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin,
Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road,
Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O.
Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED
STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and
other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.

SOCIALIST STANDARD SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Detach and forward, with remittance, to
Literature Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High
Street, London, S.W.4.

Please send SOCIALIST STANDARD for 12 months
(6 months, 4/-) for which 7/6 is enclosed.

Name
(BLOCK LETTERS)

Address

(State, if renewal, or new subscriber)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park ... 3.30—5 p.m.
East Street
(Walworth) Mar. 2nd 12 noon
" 9th 12 noon
" 16th 1 p.m.
" 23rd 11 a.m. & 1 p.m.
" 30th 11 a.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Finsbury Pavement ... Tuesdays
Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELLENHAM.—Secretary, Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.
BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: Bristol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39 Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.
MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breakley, 2, Denison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIDsbury 5709.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellaon Rd., Penceulogi, Nr. Llanelly

DOCUMENTARY FILMS at HEAD OFFICE

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comments at H.Q.

52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4.

(near Clapham North Tube Station)

Sunday evenings at 7.30 p.m.

The meeting is then open for questions and discussion which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale. Visitors particularly welcome.

Mar. 2nd "Eldorado"—MICHAEL

" 9th "The Book for the World of To-morrow"—H. JARVIS

" 16th "Come Saturday"—V. PHILLIPS

" 23rd "Yesterday, To-day and Forever"—W. KERR

" 30th (Last this season).
"Sea Power for Freedom"—W. MOSTYN

CONFERENCE RALLY

Sunday, 6th April at 7.30 p.m. at

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1.

"ANNIHILATION OR SOCIALISM?"

Speakers: E. Wilmott and J. D'Arcy

Chairman: E. Grant

Tape Recordings from U.S.A. in Afternoon and Films of Party Activities in Evening

Admission Free Questions and Discussion

ISLINGTON DISCUSSIONS

at

CO-OP HALL, 129, SEVEN SISTERS ROAD, N.7

Thursdays at 8 p.m.

March 20th "Social Zionism"—Mr. TALAMOR

April 3rd "Henry George School of Social Science"—Mr. SAYDJI

Admission Free Questions and Discussion

HACKNEY BRANCH CLASSES NOTICE

"ECONOMICS AND HISTORY"

Wed. March 5th. "The Economics of Primitive Society."

" 19th. Feudalism.

7.30 p.m.

BETHNAL GREEN TOWN HALL, E.2.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD March, 1958

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (March 6th and 20th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., at 7.30 p.m.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Thursdays at 8 p.m., "The Artichoke," Camberwell Church Street. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road Orpington, Kent.

EALING Friday at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Baling Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles. Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m. at 34, St. George's Square, (Wilcox, top flat) S.W.1. All correspondence to Secretary, c/o. H. O., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

GLASGOW (City) Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (March 12th and 26th) at 8 p.m. at Glasgow Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (March 3rd and 17th) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardness Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivimey, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. March 12th and 26th, 108c, Goldhurst Terrace, (near Finchley Road, Hampstead, N.W.6.

ISLINGTON. Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o. Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Brouley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Enquiries to Sec. J. G. Grisley, at that address.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to F. J. Mann, 18 Larchwood Ave., Romford, Essex. Romford 5171.

WICKFORD meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m., "Skara Brae" Farm Crescent, Woodham Road, Battlesbridge, Essex. Enquiries to Secretary, L. R. Plummer.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Thursdays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Indenwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 'Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at 118, Pelham Road, Wood Green, N.22.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

LEWISHAM BRANCH MEETINGS

at

DAVENPORT HOUSE,

1, DAVENPORT ROAD, RUSHEY GREEN, CATFORD, S.E.6.

Mondays at 8 p.m.

March 3rd "The 'H' Bomb"—E. WILMOTT.

" 17th "Food Production and Distribution"—P. LAWRENCE.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

No. 644 Vol. 54 April, 1958

Another Economic Blizzard?

SO THE BREAD LINES AND THE SOUP KITCHENS have appeared again—in the United States and in Canada.

It looks as if the slump that would never come again is now on its way. At least that is the impression one gets from statements by leading financiers, here and in America, and from articles that have appeared in London papers recently.

The *Times* for March the 4th, under the heading, "World Unemployment Survey," gives figures of unemployment in different countries. In the United States in January the figure was 4,494,000. This does not include unemployment among the 30 million who are not covered by unemployment insurance. Since January there has been a considerable increase in unemployment. The *Times* gives the unemployment figure for Canada in January as 520,000. Here also the figure has increased since January.

The *News Chronicle* for February 28th contains an article on Detroit by Bruce Rothwell. From this article it is evident that the huge empty factories around Detroit, and the empty shops the present writer saw in Dearborn, when he was there last September, were the expression of something more than the shift of industry out of Detroit and the change-over to automation.

The *News Chronicle* writer has this to say:—

"Signs of the slump are everywhere and this is frightening America.

"For beyond this city millions more jobs depend on the car industry. One business in six is wholly concerned with it.

"Steel, rubber, glass, leather; they all slump when the assembly lines slow; and soon it spreads to us all.

"So Detroit, the centre of it, is harder hit to-day than in the 'thirties."

The writer states that there are 250,000 unemployed in Detroit now, and he tells of the soup kitchen run by the Capuchin monks which can only touch a tiny fragment of the thousands of hungry.

He goes on to tell of the workers who are "called in for only a few hours and then sent home with too much pay to qualify for unemployment benefit"; of the cars, bought on the hire system, and almost the only means of transport, that are seized because of failure to pay the instalments: "this is the heyday of the debt collector. In haulage trucks they cruise the streets checking their lists with parked cars. Two hundred a day are seized." Of the City Welfare Office, where people queue all day in the hope of relief: "They queue all day, and the queue is lengthening for the list of men who have been out 26 weeks is lengthening, too—at the rate of 7,000 a month."

CURIOUS FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

L.C.C. ELECTIONS: PARTY MANIFESTO

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TODAY

SOCIALISM, VOTE- CATCHING AND THE I.L.P.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Registered for transmission to
Canada and Newfoundland

Monthly

6

This is a grim picture of the passing away of the boom times and the fraud of the Welfare State.

The seriousness of the position is emphasised by an announcement in *The Observer*, March 9th, that Eisenhower is proposing action to mitigate the effects of the slump:—

"In an unprecedented move, President Eisenhower announced to-day a forthcoming Bill which guarantees that while the recession lasts jobless United States workers will not go without unemployment benefit—a fate that has been staring many of them in the face."

The *Observer* article points out, however, that only 60 per cent. of the jobless workers will be entitled to benefit under Eisenhower's proposed measure, just as under the existing law.

The article also makes this general statement:—

"As many areas have been depressed for months, there are substantial numbers of United States workers who have exhausted their 26 weeks' allowance, and many more are about to reach that stage. Without the President's new measure, these workers would have had literally to stop buying anything at all, and to stop paying the time payments with which every American working-class family is saddled."

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS PARTY MANIFESTO

THIS is the first time that members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain have stood for election in East London. The candidates' names are unimportant; you will not see them on placards or in front-windows, because it is not the Socialist Party's practice to cry up individuals or promote slogans. What we have to put before you is a simple but reasoned case about the world in which we all live: the case for Socialism.

Perhaps first, however, you will want to know something about the Socialist Party. It was founded in 1904: its Object and the Declaration of Principles on which it took its stand then, and still takes it now, are printed at the end of this Manifesto. The Socialist Party looks at the world from one viewpoint only—the viewpoint of working-class men and women, and what may best serve their interests.

Do not confuse the Socialist Party with the Labour Party. The Socialist aim is a revolutionary change in society. The world we know is the capitalist world, in which all the means of life are owned by a minority and the motive of sale and profit dominates all other things. From this basis—the capitalist organization of society—arise all the problems of today: wars, crises, insecurity, want and unhappiness in a hundred forms.

Other parties believe, and promise, that those problems can be solved by changes of government and legislation. The Socialist Party's case is that while capitalism remains the problems which are its consequences will remain too. Indeed, it should hardly need the Socialist Party to point this out. Any man's lifetime today has seen several changes of government, allied with spectacular progress; how much nearer, however, is the solution of any of those problems?

You may object, at this stage, that these are not issues in this election. The voter in the L.C.C. Election has in mind not world problems, but the everyday questions of housing, schools, rent and roadways and public health services. That is true, but the more important truth is that they are not local questions at all. They are, in fact, aspects of the position of the working class the world

over: a position in which the only differences are the depth of want and the degree of insecurity.

Another paper, *The People*, March 9th, had an article headed "They queue for free soup in Canada now" with a picture of a line of unemployed and destitute outside a soup kitchen at Marian Centre, Edmonton, where 400 free meals a day are being distributed. The writer of this article says:—

"The emergency is not Edmonton's alone. In the last eight weeks an economic blizzard has swept over all Canada."

"Only eight weeks ago I reported that, according to official figures, 300,000 people were on the dole, including many emigrants from Britain."

"I forecast then that the figure would increase. It has—to an extent far beyond my worst fears."

From the extracts we have given it will be seen that the indications are that there are tough times ahead; for capitalism is an international disease. A collapse of industry in one part of the world soon makes its effects felt in every other part. So the Cohen Committee need not have bothered to assert the need of arranging for a certain percentage of unemployment—the system will more than take care of that in the fullness of time.

GILMAC.

The housing problem, which will be spoken of a good deal in this election, has been with us for more than a hundred years. All efforts to solve it have been unsuccessful simply because it is a part of the working-class poverty problem. London's forests of flats and prefabs are the attempts of administrators to do the impossible—to house generation after generation of working people who cannot afford to house themselves.

A great deal of the illness and much of the crime and "vice" that are problems in every city in the world are direct consequences of people's poverty. And what are the problems of education, but the problems of how children shall be taught to be clerks, factory workers, mechanics and labourers—that is, educated for future poverty? The Socialist case is that within capitalism there can be no cure, and the whole history of modern times bears us out.

Ours is not a gloomy message, however. On the contrary, through our fifty-four years' existence we have steadily pointed to the obvious real remedy. If it is true that all these problems are the inevitable consequences of the capitalist organization of society, then we must end it and replace it with something better. And that is what the Socialist Party of Great Britain stands for: the abolition of capitalism and the establishment in its place of Socialism.

Socialism does not mean a different kind of government, or State administration of industry (nor has it anything to do with what goes on in Russia). It means a completely different social system, based on the ownership of all the means of life by everybody. On that basis, there could be no wars or crises, because those are results of trade and competition between capitalists. Nor could there be poverty and all its consequent problems, because all the resources of society would be directed not towards profit, but to satisfying the needs of all.

You may ask, as most people do, how the Socialist Party is going to effect all this. The answer is that it is

not. *YOU* are going to. In our Declaration of Principles you will find one which says: "That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself." The Socialist Party does not present itself as a would-be ruler or a new leader. Another of our claims is that leaders will take working people nowhere good; in fact, that the world will not change for the working class until they themselves change it.

Thus, in this election we are promising nothing. What we are laying before you is the proposition briefly outlined here, and what we ask is that you consider it and see if it does not fit the world as you know it. If you agree with it, you will not need to be asked to vote for the Socialist candidates who alone in this election stand for the interests of the working class. If you disagree, we ask you to go on thinking about it—but not to vote for our candidates.

Your final question may be that, even though you listen favourably to what we have to say, you see no purpose in voting for a little group of candidates who, if elected, could change nothing. That is true, of course; three Socialists in the London County Council would be in a position only to state the Socialist case on every

opportunity and little more. Have you thought, however, that those who support the candidates of the majority parties are also electing administrators who can do nothing to improve the position of the working class?

And, of course, there is a far more important aspect. The change to Socialism can only be brought about by a Socialist working class sending its representatives to take the powers of government, national and local, to make the all-important change in ownership. Somewhere a start has to be made. The presence of three Socialist Candidates in this election is a lengthening, slight though it may be, of the shadow over the reign of capitalism. Every fresh person who hears us and decides that he or she is with us adds substance to that shadow.

During the weeks leading up to this election, Socialists will be everywhere where they can find the opportunity to talk to you. Our speakers will be on the streets and in the halls as often as possible, and our canvassers will come to as many doors as they can—not to tout for your vote, but to talk to you about Socialism. The Socialist future is not so far away. Your understanding and wanting it will

SPEED THE DAY!

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Rival Paradises (From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, April, 1908), General Booth says: "The Socialists want to make the world a paradise without having a paradise people." Is the General fearful of the competition of a paradise here below with his problematic paradise to come? Or does he expect hell to breed angels?

The Socialist knows that a paradise people could only be born of paradise conditions; but Christians expect figs to grow on thistles.

And does not this reveal a fundamental cleavage between Socialism and Christianity? The Christian looks

on man as the creator of his circumstances; the Socialist looks on man as the product without, of course, ignoring the reflex action of past environment through the individual.

The environment is almost all-powerful, and the secret of the promise of man's future mastery lies in his growing knowledge of the laws of material development and his consequent greater adaptability to those laws.

To the Christian, evolution is man-made; to the Socialist, evolution has made man.

Well does the General serve his masters by directing the gaze of the poor from the material conditions to mansions in the sky; but his chief merit must be, in the eyes of the masters, to have organized the greatest "free labour" association in existence.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TO-DAY

THE Socialist attitude to religion must be clearly understood; it is, and has always been, unqualified opposition. That is not simply because all religion is mumbo-jumbo; if that were all, there would be nothing to add to the useful work of the Freethinkers in showing up the stupidity of it. The far more important reason is that religion is intensely anti-working-class. Not just the Bishops or the Thirty-Nine Articles, or any religious institution by itself, but the whole panoply of belief, ritual, salvation and miracle stands against the interests of all working people.

That is true not only of Christianity in Britain and the western world at large, but of all the world's religions: "so many distinct and geographical insanities," Robert Owen called them. Their creeds work to keep the poor content with poverty, their teachings instil submissiveness to oppression and exploitation, their organization—usually subsidized for the purpose—aims to guard ruling interests in every country. There is no doubt, however, that of all the Christian religions the one most pernicious, most

firmly staked in fear, ignorance and poverty, is the Roman Catholic Church.

In the last few years the Catholic Church has conducted campaigns for converts with a good deal of success in Britain and America. (At all times, it is much more propagandist than other religions; every local church displays a big selection of pamphlets on Catholicism). Chiefly through newspaper advertising, the Church has drawn attention to itself and increased its membership, and it claims today that there are more than two and three-quarter million Catholics in Britain. The trend this number represents, however, is far from what it seems.

The figure itself is misleading, in that it includes an unknown but considerable number who are Catholics in name only (nothing but formal declaration and, of course, excommunication removes a name from the roll). More important, however, is the leakage of another kind. Conversion forms only a small part of the continuation of Catholic membership. The great bulk of it is by parentage: birth-control is forbidden to Catholics, and in

theory the Catholic population should practically double in each generation. In practice, the Catholic reproduction rate has been falling for some time now, even in Ireland, and its biggest drop is among migrants to Britain where, for all the priestly exhortations, Catholic families are nearer the British than the Irish norm for size.

Social pressures have more weight than Papal pronouncements. The current crop of conversions is merely going some of the way towards offsetting the real losses in coming generations caused by the decline of the big families which have been the backbone of Catholicism. The durability of the conversions, too, remains to be seen. The Catholic Church guards as far as possible by having a probationary "instruction" period, but the fact remains that no campaign for religious conversion in modern times has produced enduring results worth talking about.

The social doctrines of the Catholic Church are based on its religious teachings (which in turn, of course, are based on the requirements of a propertied, hierarchic society—feudal or capitalist). The starting point is the beginning of the Catechism: "Who made me? God made me. What is God? God is a spirit," the supernatural dictum that each of us is one part body and nine parts soul divinely infused at the moment of conception. Given that, all the rest proceeds logically. The whole structure of Catholic dogma, indeed, is quite logical: once the first bit of nonsense is accepted, the rest follows from it. That is why it is wrong to suppose that X, who is only a bit religious, is somehow more enlightened than Y, who believes it all: the bit is the part that matters.

All Catholics are required from the age of seven to attend Mass on Sundays and certain other days, to have Holy Communion regularly, to confess their sins, and to pay for the support of their priests and churches. Their children may only go—except for "grave reasons"—to Catholic schools, and they may only marry—except for "grave reasons"—other Catholics. In practice, inter-marriage is generally though grudgingly permitted in southern England, where the Catholic population is relatively sparse; in the north, things are different. The non-Catholic partner in a "mixed" marriage has to sign a promise not to prevent any Papal practice and to have the children raised as Catholics.

How are these observances enforced? Overwhelmingly through fear and ignorance. A Catholic who fails in his duties or dies with sins unconfessed goes, they say, straight to hell; and though modern Catholic theology is evasive on the point, the hell which lay Catholics are taught to fear is the old-fashioned rip-roaring pit of fire. The limitations on Catholics' reading are well known, and it is forbidden for Catholics to listen to people or go to places where they may be tempted into thinking about things. The bald lies which are told to Catholics are numerous, too; for example, that contraceptives cause insanity. The Royal Commission on Population in Britain mentioned this and said simply that the view lacked "any firm support" (Report of Royal Commission, 1948, Para. 426), but it is given as gospel to Catholic married people.

It should not be thought, however, that the Catholic priesthood is a crowd of foxy schemers. Most of them are as ignorant as those they preach to, and believe it all themselves. Every good Catholic family hopes for one of the boys to become a priest. The majority of parish priests are working-class boys who were attending on the altar when they should have been playing tag, who went

to Catholic schools where they learned the Catholic view of history and the Catholic view of science (which, put briefly, is that most science does not exist), and finished off reading devotional works in a bachelor college full of others like themselves. They are not allowed to attend theatres lest the sight of opulence discontent them, and every day between chores they have to read the Holy Office, which is enough to keep anyone occupied.

The centrepiece of Catholic worship is the Mass, the impressive ritual which must be the fascination to many of the converts, and the centrepiece of the Mass is transubstantiation, the changing of biscuit and cheap wine into the flesh and blood of Christ in which Catholics implicitly believe. Other religions (even the imitative Anglican High Church) offers this only as a symbol, but to the Catholic it is actual transformation. Pure magic: the Catholic taking Holy Communion believes literally that he swallows divine flesh and blood, and specially devout people have it daily.

The wicked go to hell, and the good to heaven. Not right away, however. Before entering the celestial fold, each must spend a time in purgatory: maybe a hundred years, maybe ten thousand, working off payment for sins forgiven, but not expiated on earth. Credits (as it were) for this may be gained in this world. Catholics crowd into church for a bishop's visit, for example, because the bishop's first pronouncement will be an indulgence—a remission of purgatory-time—for all those present. Special prayers give indulgences with each repetition, and there is what most people would consider a racket in indulgence-selling: "Two Hundred Days' Indulgence to Each Purchaser of This Book," etc. It is possible also to help departed souls through purgatory. An average Catholic parish church has perhaps sixteen Masses a week, and each one usually is chalked up to some interested parishioners; e.g., Mrs. O'Malley for the repose of the soul of the late Mr. O'Malley, at a non-obligatory fee of five shillings.

There is, too, the matter of saints, who figure prominently in Catholicism. (A devout Catholic home is a minor religious museum, with holy-water fonts by the doorways, crucifixes on the walls, life-sized pictures of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and as many statues of saints as the mantelpiece will bear.) The saints are supposed to intercede with God for those they favour, and the "miracle cure" shrines at Lourdes and elsewhere represent the special beneficence of particular saints in this direction. There has been no instance yet, however, of the really miraculous, such as (the writer is perfectly serious) a one-legged man growing a new limb overnight.

What are the social effects of all this? The Catholic hierarchy has unquestioned rule over the world's Catholic population, demanding supervision of their lives from the cradle to the grave. It is hardly necessary to labour the point that there are, therefore, between two and three millions in this country, twenty-six millions in America and a still greater number spread over the world who are to a lesser or greater degree held in ignorance by inculcated fear. Similarly—and consequently—there is the same legion committed to promoting the Catholic Church's interests above all things: told how to vote, supplied with tailored judgments on all political and social matters, drilled to shape family and communal life in the moulds of the ideal Catholic civilization.

The thoughts of the Catholic worker are directed to

preoccupation with the next world: to escape the terrors of hell and minimize the rigours of purgatory are to be his paramount concerns. "Which is the more important, my body or my soul?" asks the Catechism, and the answer can hardly be in doubt. Indeed, the famous *Rerum Novarum* encyclical of Leo XIII—the "Workers' Charter"—while it mildly enjoined benevolence by employers and the State, made clear that working people must submit to hardship on this earth: "To suffer and to endure, therefore, is the lot of humanity. . . . If there are any who pretend differently—who hold out to a hard-pressed people the boon of freedom from pain and trouble, an undisturbed repose, and constant enjoyment—they delude the people and impose upon them, and their lying promises will only one day bring forth evils worse than the present. Nothing is more useful than to look upon the world as it really is—and at the same time to seek elsewhere, as we have said, for the solace to its troubles."

The politics of the Catholic Church are those of an organization incessantly seeking power. Its thesis is, *par excellence*, the claim of every non-governing party: that

it can run property society better than any of them. It seeks to govern not democratically but absolutely, less through direct participation than through government by its votaries, and it is prepared to support any policy and make any alliance which will further its own ends. What Catholic domination means in practice can be seen simply by looking at the almost proverbial poverty and degradation of people in Ireland and Italy and the dictatorships of Spain and Portugal.

The fact is, however, that the Catholic Church will never again rule men's minds as in the past. Its present campaign is not a crusade, but a rearguard action against the progress of man: it is doubtful even if capitalism needs Catholicism when there are Sputnik and Zeta for sky-pie. Nevertheless, the Church must be recognized for what it is—the greatest of the Christian religions which, from their beginnings, have enslaved men's minds so that property societies might continue. It has declared itself—in the encyclical already mentioned—an enemy of Socialism. More explicitly, it is an enemy of the working class.

ROBERT COSTER.

SOCIALISM, VOTE-CATCHING AND THE I.L.P.

IN the SOCIALIST STANDARD, March, 1958, in an article "The same old I.L.P.," we maintained, on the ground of the I.L.P. candidate's campaign at Kelvingrove and other current evidence, that the I.L.P. is, as it has always been, a reformist organisation. In the I.L.P. journal *The Socialist Leader* (15th March, 1958) the political secretary of the I.L.P., Mr. Wilfred Wigham, wrote an angry denial.

What is Vote-catching?

Let us make clear what we mean by vote-catching. In essence it means the act of getting votes under false pretences. As the S.P.G.B. holds that the *only* solution of social problems is to revolutionise society from its present capitalist basis to a Socialist basis, and that only by the votes of Socialists can this aim be achieved, it would be blatant vote-catching if an S.P.G.B. candidate were to try to attract the votes of electors who accept capitalism and whose aim is to raise old age pensions, or introduce more nationalisation (State capitalism), or limit the horrors of war. But if a Labour Party candidate tried to attract such votes it would not be vote-catching if he genuinely believed that these reforms can be achieved, that they will be achieved by a Labour Government and that they would bring the benefits he says they will.

By the same test we really hold that the I.L.P. is not a vote-catching organisation when it seeks votes from non-Socialists and campaigns on reforms of capitalism, because its aim, as we shall show, is not Socialism. Nevertheless, the I.L.P. itself invites the charge of vote-catching when it tries to combine the two irreconcilable principles and claims, as it did at Kelvingrove, that "it will seek to convince the men and women of Kelvingrove that *only* by Socialism can the challenge of these stupendous times be met. And it will not compromise its policy and programme to win votes" (*Socialist Leader*, 1st February, 1958. (Our italics.))

The confusion arises because while the I.L.P. claims that Socialism is the only solution it really does not mean

Socialism, but a reformed capitalism; and its "policy and programme" referred to is one of reformism. The "Socialism" of the I.L.P.

The I.L.P. claims that its aim is Socialism. It has consistently made that claim since its formation 65 years ago. But the meaning attached to the term by the I.L.P. is a gross misuse.

In the early days its efforts were concentrated on achieving Nationalisation or State capitalism. In the nineteen twenties it published a pamphlet under the title *Socialism in Queensland*. In 1932 its National Council passed a resolution describing Russia and the Russian Government as "Socialist," and affirming that "the fate of the workers is bound up with the maintenance of Russia's freedom to pursue her Socialist development unhindered by capitalist attacks" (*New Leader*, 22nd April, 1932). In its issue, dated 12th February, 1932, the following declaration was made:—

"In Soviet Russia Socialism is not the music of the future. It is a reality of the present."

"During the past year the Soviet Union has completed the construction of the foundation of Socialism. By the end of the Second Five Year Plan it will have completed the construction of the Socialist Society."

In 1935 it fought the municipal elections on a reformist programme, one item of which was: "*Socialised Local Services*": "Abolition of restrictions on the development of public services (in conjunction, where possible, with Cooperative Societies) of bread, milk and coal. Workers control in every service" (*New Leader*, 25th October, 1935).

In 1954 the National Council of the I.L.P. passed a resolution calling for unity of "Socialists" and "Socialist organisations," to include the "well-meaning Socialists who are members of the political section of the Labour Party" and giving as evidence of the "Socialist" character of the latter the resolutions they moved at Labour Party Conferences (which were in fact, as we showed, resolutions solely for reforms of capitalism, including in particular nationalisation or State capitalism. See

SOCIALIST STANDARD, March 1954).

We ask the I.L.P. "Is Nationalisation Socialism? Was Queensland Socialist? Was Russia Socialist in 1932? Were the Local Labour Parties and their resolutions Socialist in 1954?" The Socialist answer is "emphatically NO!" but the I.L.P. believes that the answer is "yes."

The I.L.P. and the Reform of Capitalism.

If the I.L.P.'s alleged adherence to Socialism is a gross misuse of the word, its attitude on the reform of capitalism is equally two-faced. On the one hand it lets it be thought that it agrees with the late James Maxton's admission (*New Leader*, 15th August, 1930) that reformism is futile because before the reforms gained "have been fully operative such advantages as they seemed on a superficial examination to offer were eaten up by the development of new evils or by a further extension of old ones" yet it has always devoted its efforts to securing reforms. Hence, for example, the long list of reforms on which the I.L.P. fought the Municipal Elections in 1935, including 'Free baths for the unemployed,' a minimum of 20s. unemployed pay, abolition of large classes in schools, and "Freedom to hold meetings outside Labour Exchanges."

Hence also the *Socialist Leader's* anger at the charge made by the Labour Candidate at Kelvingrove that she was the only candidate who was opposed to the Rent Act. The editor says this was a lie, and affirms that the I.L.P. Candidate "made it clear from the beginning of the campaign that he opposed the Rent Act in all its clauses." (*Socialist Leader*, 15th March, 1958.) Naturally, in conformity with the I.L.P.'s reformist policy, their candidate considered that he had been fraudulently deprived of the votes of anti-Rent Act voters and that their votes ought fairly to have gone to him and not to the candidate of the Labour Party, which, he alleged "does not intend to repeal the Act if and when it is returned to power."

And did the I.L.P. candidate inform the electors, as he would have done if fighting as a Socialist, that under Socialism there could be no Rent Control because there will be no rents? If not, why not?

The other main issue at Kelvingrove was the H Bomb. If the I.L.P. candidate had been a Socialist he would have concentrated on showing that capitalism is the cause of war and that Socialism is the only way to eliminate armaments and war from the world. Instead, he made the abolition of the H Bomb the centre of his campaign. Again, it was quite in keeping with the I.L.P.'s reformism that while nominally committed to opposing all war and all armaments the issue of the *Socialist Leader* for 1st March, 1958, contained an invitation to three opponents of the H Bomb who are also opponents of Socialism and present or recent supporters of war (Bertrand Russell, A. J. P. Taylor and J. B. Priestley), to go to Kelvingrove and speak on the I.L.P. candidate's platform!

Mr. Wigham's Defence of the I.L.P.

In his article in the *Socialist Leader* (15th March, 1958), Mr. Wigham tries to confuse the issue with a number of silly innuendoes about the S.P.G.B., in the usual dishonest form adopted by the controversialist without a case. He writes: "The S.P.G.B. . . may advocate that Britain should continue to spend more than a thousand million pounds a year on armaments and the armed forces . . . it may advocate Britain's continued share in the cumulative production of radio-active dust from H Bomb

tests. . . . Or the S.P.G.B. may think those issues unimportant"; and again, "Is the S.P.G.B. in favour of Britain continuing to manufacture the H Bomb. Or is it afraid to declare itself either way?" Then, with a pathetic show of phoney indignation, "I challenge the SOCIALIST STANDARD to answer."

Of course, Mr. Wigham is being completely dishonest. He knows quite well that the S.P.G.B. is not, and never has been, in favour of capitalism or capitalism's war-making or its H Bombs, or any of its armaments: unlike the I.L.P. M.P.s. who did not vote against war supplies in the 1914-1918 war and the 1924 Labour Government, declared by the I.L.P. to be "To an overwhelming extent an I.L.P. Government," which carried out a programme of naval re-armament. The I.L.P. has now changed its line on that issue and pretends to think that the S.P.G.B. has abandoned its opposition to war.

How dishonest Mr. Wigham's questions are can be seen from the attitude he adopts elsewhere towards the S.P.G.B. Repeatedly (and as recently as last year) the I.L.P. has begged the S.P.G.B. to unite with the I.L.P. for the purpose, among others, of opposing war: now he pretends not to know the S.P.G.B.'s attitude to capitalism and war!

Continuing his pretended desire for the S.P.G.B. to declare its attitude (as if he didn't know), he asks if the S.P.G.B. is "in favour of the continued use of British airfields by American bombing planes and the prospective use of British Land for NATO missile bases?"

By this piece of slickness Mr. Wigham slides away from the issue of the fatuousness of I.L.P. pleas to the British capitalist class to at once disband the armed forces, and the I.L.P. resolution to "deny" British bases to all other countries. He did not tell his readers what we wrote about this, in particular our question, "How do unarmed civilians deny bases to the armies occupying them?", and our example of the Hungarian workers who tried to turn Russian capitalism out of Hungarian bases.

By implication, however, he admits our case on the issue of disbanding the armed forces, for he now writes: "We do not think it likely that capitalist Britain will disarm." But he goes on to justify the formulation of such demands on the plea that it is an attempt "to show up, in the eyes of the workers, militaristic, predatory Capitalist Imperialism for what it is."

On the same propaganda plea of asking the capitalist class to do something you know they won't do, why not just ask them to introduce Socialism? And while we are on the subject, is the I.L.P.'s plea to capitalism to disband its armed forces at once, also directed to capitalist Russia? or is Russia still, in the view of the I.L.P., the "Socialist" Society they said it was in 1932?

Keir Hardie and Maxton.

Mr. Wigham puts up another Aunt Sally in order not to deal with the point we raised about the futility of Keir Hardie's and Maxton's reformism. He says he was not surprised at us "dragging in the usual S.P.G.B. criticism of I.L.P. industrial 'reformism'—in fact, I.L.P. identification with the day to day struggles of the workers. And, sure enough, it does so instancing James Keir Hardie and James Maxton as suitable forerunners of the I.L.P." Since it was Mr. Wigham who claimed that the present I.L.P. is "the party of Keir Hardie and James Maxton," he has no ground on which to object to us following up his lead and dealing with them. But why does Mr. Wigham not tell his readers what we wrote about those two? His

readers, on the basis of what Mr. Wigham writes, will be astonished to learn that the one issue about which we said nothing at all was the struggles of the workers on the industrial field. What we did write, and which Mr. Wigham pretends was a reference to industrial action for higher wages was a bill introduced into Parliament by Maxton in 1930 for the setting up of a Government Committee to fix a minimum "living wage," after taking into account the "replacement and extension of capital"

One I.L.P. M.P. disclaimed any intention of excluding employers from the committee which was to fix the workers' minimum wage. Another gave an assurance that the wage would not include enough for children—they were to be separately provided for. This was to meet the views of an anti-Socialist M.P. who did not want people without children to get more than their due. The I.L.P. Prime Minister would not give government backing for the Bill.

This was not industrial action, but an I.L.P. political sell-out.

The I.L.P. in favour of Profit and Rent.

Mr. Wigham challenges us to say whether the S.P.G.B. is "against raising wages and reducing profits and rents: is it against a living wage for all workers?" If Mr. Wigham were a Socialist he would know that the S.P.G.B., being Socialist, is not in favour of wages, profits and rents, but is in favour of Socialism, which involves the abolition of the wages system, and the abolition of property incomes, including all profits and rents (not, as Mr. Wigham says he is, in favour of reduced profits and rents).

On the issue of workers' action (strikes) on the industrial field, every government administering capitalism opposes strikes for higher wages, necessarily so because unless the State places a ceiling on strike demands, capitalism, depending as it does on profit, becomes unwork-

able. The S.P.G.B. is in favour of the workers using every effort on the industrial field to press for higher wages and to resist reductions. It is also in favour of telling the workers the truth about the limitations that capitalism places on this action and the necessity of abolishing capitalism (and with it the wages system). The S.P.G.B. also attacks the reformist I.L.P. belief that having capitalism with minimum wage legislation (as in Australia) alters the situation. In particular it reminds the workers that an I.L.P. government, saddled with the responsibility of running capitalism, behaves like any other government in opposing strikes. It was the 1924 I.L.P. dominated government which made preparations to use emergency powers against strikers on the underground railways (*Daily Herald*, 1st April, 1924.)

Before we leave Mr. Wigham's reference to Keir Hardie we note that he makes no comment on Hardie's advocacy of coal nationalisation for the sake of fuelling the Navy. Does this, too, fit into the I.L.P. conception of Socialism?

Abstract Theory and Real Life.

Mr. Wigham concludes with a jibe at the alleged "abstract reasoning" of the S.P.G.B., contrasted with the I.L.P., which, he says, "continues to base its political activities on real life," and which knows "something about history."

We are not averse to accepting the term "abstract reasoning" as a description of the need for workers to study capitalism and the history of reformism in order to understand the futility of trying to reform capitalism into something different.

And we are content to leave to the reformist I.L.P., in the Keir Hardie-Maxton tradition, the task of ignoring Socialism and concentrating on the "real life" activity of a reformist organisation, of pursuing the winning of votes and members on a programme of reforms.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

NOTES BY THE WAY

£3 10s. 5½d. a week

Miss Schulz, of the Oxford Institute of Statistics, worked out that it would be possible to feed a family of five on £3 10s. 5½d. a week on a diet corresponding to the pre-war "Rowntree" diet which in 1936 cost 21s. 7d. Readers of newspapers who heard about it were for the most part very indignant and blamed Miss Schulz.

Miss Schulz, like the late Seeborn Rowntree, was dealing with the cost of a "minimum" diet for a "working class" family.

The angry critics should be aiming at a larger target. They should be asking themselves what justification there is for a system of society which accepts the double standard of "working class" as distinct from human beings, and which concerns itself with calculating a minimum diet at a time when half the world is slipping into depression because it cannot sell its excess supplies of foodstuffs. They should ask why there should be people who can afford only £3 10s. 5½d. (or less) while other people can toss this away on a little dinner party for two or three.

Donald's Good Man Goes Wrong

From time to time the long-suffering workers have

to put up with a special brand of confusion spreaders, the "progressive" clergy. One of them is the Reverend Donald Soper, idol of non-conformity, supporter of the Labour Party, regular contributor to the *Tribune*, self-styled Socialist and professed pacifist. His idea of Socialism is State capitalism. Hence, for example, his declared objective of "the preservation and extension of the Welfare State, so that those who are unavoidably out of work, will still belong to the community and will not be left to rot in the 'freedom and flexibility' of idleness" (*Tribune*, 7th March, 1958).

He spends much of his time criticising the aims and activities of his own party and clearly sees no inconsistency in supporting the war-making, capitalism supporting Labour Party while preaching pacifism and, in words, denouncing capitalism and supporting Socialism.

In line with his professional preoccupation with "sin" one of his contributions to confusion is to see the different capitalist national groups in terms of good and bad men. He evidently sees the "older and fatter" bandits of capitalism as "bad" and the up and coming, but as yet leaner bandits as "good." It was inevitable therefore that his heart should go out to dictator Nasser and the other representatives of the exploiting class in

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

APRIL



1958

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

CURIOUS FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

THERE is one thing that the Tories and the Labour Party, the supporters of "controls" and the defenders of "private enterprise," have long had in common: they are all the friends of freedom. They were all very anxious, or so they said, to protect the rights of Minorities and see that these Minorities received opportunities to state their point of view. But they differed, and differed violently, about the best way of securing this happy event. The Labour Party has always said that you cannot expect the profit-hungry Press Barons to play the game, and the sole way to get freedom of speech for Minorities was to have the Press and the Radio nationalised; then there would be reasonable facilities for every point of view, however small its numerical and financial backing. The newspapers and the advocates of commercial broadcasting scoffed at this. They pointed to the habit of bureaucratic Government organisations, once they got a monopoly, of blotting out every dissident point of view.

As the Socialist Party of Great Britain is a small organisation, we are the very people whom both groups were dying to serve. So how could we fail to benefit? If Tweedledum defaulted on his principle we only had to turn to Tweedledee to get a fair deal. And thus it didn't turn out. Tweedledum and Tweedledee found that they don't disagree at all, for they both see eye to eye about not giving the Socialist case a chance to be heard. So for over twenty years the B.B.C. has refused to allow the S.P.G.B. an opportunity to put its case on the air and this in spite of the recommendation of the Committee set up by the Government which in 1949 recommended that the B.B.C. should consider giving "all minorities which had messages, religious or other, some time to broadcast." But there still remained the other groups, those who got their chance to behave differently when commercial tele-

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vision was started. They were going to show how much better they would do things than the B.B.C. On February 10th of this year in an I.T.V. lecture on "International Socialism," Mr. A. J. P. Taylor, Fellow and Tutor in Modern History at Magdalen College, Oxford, made a statement which viewers heard as being in the terms that all Socialist Parties supported the 1914-18 war. We wrote to Mr. Taylor and to Associated Television Ltd. on February 11th, drawing attention to this and asking that Mr. Taylor defend or withdraw his statement, and that the controllers of the programme allow us facilities to state our position. In order that there could be no reason for doubt about the facts, we forwarded to Mr. Taylor a copy of the SOCIALIST STANDARD for September, 1914, in which our manifesto reaffirming Socialist opposition to war was published. From Associated Television Ltd. we received a letter saying that "the import of Mr. Taylor's remarks in connection with the 1914-18 war were not quite correctly stated by you in your letters"—but not giving the correct version: a courteous letter; which, however, ignored our request, though it expressed the opinion that no doubt Mr. Taylor "will be making any reply to you which is appropriate."

At this point it may strike the reader that Mr. Taylor doubtless erred quite innocently—his historical studies might well not have extended to noticing a small organisation; but he would naturally put the matter right without delay.

But six weeks later we had not heard from him. With our accustomed charity we appreciate that his various activities, including his preparations for and appearance in, a programme called "Free Speech," might take up much time and in addition he was busy writing for the Press. In the *Sunday Express* (2nd March, 1958) appeared an article by him defending certain organs of the Press against some Bishops and M.P.s and the *Times*. In this article Mr. Taylor called them men who "imperil freedom." His particular concern was that these men had made "exaggerated charges, false charges, charges that should never have been made," in connection with the photographs published after the Munich disaster to Manchester United footballers. It may be wondered what this has to do with our subject matter. The point is that Mr. Taylor agreed that the offending critics of the Press made their charges as "the result of an honest mistake." But, he wrote indignantly, "What about a withdrawal and an apology? Not at all. Silence by the bishops; silence by the M.P.s; silence by the *Times*."

Need we labour the point? Pray, silence for Mr. Taylor of Television Free Speech fame!

PUBLICATION DATE OF "SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

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Egypt. When the British and French governments started war over Suez he addressed a protest meeting at Caxton Hall (14th August, 1956). He claimed to speak as a Socialist and pacifist and progressive Christian. But instead of putting the Socialist case against capitalism as the cause of war and as an exploiting system, all he could do was to condemn the aggressor capitalist groups and praise the defending capitalist group. Instead of calling on the workers to oppose capitalism (and its wars) he called for encouragement of the Egyptian capitalist figure-head, Nasser.

"I wanted to say in the name of Christianity that this Nasser ought to be encouraged and not be repressed, because I believe the root of the matter in him is good, and because it is good it is our business to evoke it by corresponding good and not to repress it by threats of violence."

But those who take sides between "good" and "bad" representatives of capitalism are asking for trouble. Just lately the good Colonel has been putting the imperialist squeeze on Sudan. Here was a chance for Soper to make an indignant protest. But we looked in *Tribune* in vain. Instead of loud protests there was a deafening silence.

Tribune had been rallying round Bourghiba of Tunisia, another "good" man, under attack from the "bad" French. Now Bourghiba threatens to break off diplomatic relations with Nasser, because, so he alleges, Nasser's government has been conniving at a plot to assassinate him (*Manchester Guardian*, 7th March, 1958).

Apart from praying, what is Soper going to do about it?

Blood is not as thick as oil

While we are on the subject of assassination plots we should not overlook the fact that Nasser is said to be on the receiving end as well as being an instigator, for the Syrian partners in the newly united Egypt-Syria claim to have evidence that Saudi Arabia's ruler paid £2 million to have Nasser bumped off (or was it only £1 million?). This should be a lesson to those who, rejecting the Socialist explanation of international groupings and rivalries, interpreted the evolution of Middle-East capitalism in terms of the blood bond and Moslem faith of Arab peoples. We now have Egypt and Syria facing Iraq and Jordan, with Saudi Arabia maintaining hostile aloofness. Oil and pipe-lines are the key to the situation, not race and religion or a supposed common hostility to imperialism.

The centre of interest is now moving westwards along the North African coast owing to the first developments of reportedly enormous quantities of oil under the French Sahara; with the Algerian armed rebels standing across the outlets to the Mediterranean. That is what keeps a French army of hundreds of thousands desperately trying to make the oil safe for French capitalism and for the British and other oil interests that have a hand in it.

Attitudes to the H-Bomb

As the gradations of opposition, half-opposition, half support and full support to the H bomb come to expression in the multiplicity of new organisations and declarations, it becomes a major task to know where they all stand. At one end there are the "rely on the H bomb" lunatics; then the make but don't use or test, the make but don't test, the test but don't use, the have but not in American planes, the keep but suspend work on, the do

this now and the do it after Summit talks, the rely on good old conventional weapons, etc., etc.

The arguments between them are particularly sterile because of the tacit acceptance by all the contestants of the capitalist system of society. They can all knock the other man's case to pieces, but none of them put up a Socialist alternative. Mr. J. B. Priestley is a case in point. In an article "H-Bomb Hotchpotch" in the *Daily Herald* (5th March, 1958) he makes mincemeat of his opponents, but comes down to this in the end:—

"If this country walked out of the nuclear arms race and declared that it would defend itself if necessary with anything a man could lay his hands on, from shot-guns to bombs made out of corned beef tins, it would be a safer place than it is to-day; and certainly safer than Mr. Sandys and friends—who are gambling everything on the belief that nothing can happen—can make it to-morrow."

Brave words, but it is a safe bet that if it happened, Mr. Priestley would be calling on us to die gloriously with our shot-guns against all the modern armoury of weapons (and probably denouncing the government of the day for not having provided better armaments) with never a thought that war because of capitalism is just as senseless whatever the arms and whichever capitalist group came out victorious.

If Priestley were a Socialist, adding his voice to the international Socialist stand against capitalism everywhere, in opposition to every capitalist government and party, he would be doing something really useful on behalf of humanity.

Labour Government and Strikes

Workers who support the Labour Party and have expectations that the next Labour Government will be different from the last should take note of the speech by Mr. Alfred Robens, who is tipped off to be their Minister of Labour. The following report appeared in the *Daily Herald* (21st February, 1958):—

"Originally, when private ownership of industry was widespread, a strike was intended to damage the profitability of a company and the private pocket of the owner."

"But times have changed," Mr. Robens told a London meeting of the Industrial Co-partnership Association.

"We have moved into a managerial society in which shareholders are quite remote from actual management."

"Therefore the strike today does not affect the individuals who are managing in the way which it may have affected those individuals 50 years ago. The managing director's salary goes on as before."

"But it did hold up orders and caused people to be chary of investing in an industry with a black record of stoppages."

"The result is that the strike has a long-term boomerang effect of holding up investment in an industry, and so not enabling it to become more modern and reducing its profitability," added Mr. Robens.

"It disturbs the confidence of the customer, and it can have nothing but a harmful effect not only on the company, but on all those employed by it."

Capitalist Culture comes to Florida

In the *Manchester Guardian* (1st March, 1958) Mr. Alistair Cooke told the sad story of American "progress."

"Until the great prosperity came along many of the smaller keys were ravishing; quiet tropical refuges of hardwood and limes and wild flowers and herons, brief

reminders of the natural luxury that limestone and warm winds can breed in the middle of an aquamarine ocean. But the "developers" have been here as everywhere, and here, too—on the once lovely Marathon Key, for example—suburban Los Angeles seems to set the universal pattern: trailer camps, hot-dog stands, Joe's Miracle Bargains in second-hand cars flaunting their strings of bulbs against the indigo night sky.

The harbour at Key West is much the same, and a town that once looked like the perfect setting for a romance by Tennessee Williams or a small domestic

tragedy by William March is now the garish frowzy camp of souvenir pedlars and chrome motels and neon-lit saloons. Sometimes the sky darkens over and God pours out a deluge of punishing rain. The streets swirl and the sewers gurgle for a while in running floods. Then, after lunch, the sky is cloudless again. It is 80 degrees, and either by sea or sky the horizon is the gate of Paradise. But the aeroplane coach service and the real estate men together have converted one of the last and beautiful relics of the Spanish Empire into a Coney Island. There is no hiding place down here." H.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

A last-minute reminder that Conference is being held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, April 4th, 5th and 6th. Fuller details elsewhere in this issue.

The Social Committee is making special arrangements to see that the Social and Dance being held on the Saturday shall be successful. It remains for comrades to bring friends along and arrive early so that full benefit shall be had from the Dance and Social. It is a few years now since we could say that this annual event was really what it ought to be, and with this in mind the Social Committee is "going all-out" to see that everyone has a really happy evening. A social is also being held on the Friday at HEAD OFFICE. This commences about 8 o'clock and there will be refreshments available for all. These gatherings at Head Office are a good opportunity for London and Provincial Comrades to have an informal social evening after the first day of the Conference.

Ealing Branch. The winter series of lectures and discussions has come to an end, and the preparations for Annual Conference have been the main concern over the past few weeks. It is hoped, however, to run one discussion per month during the summer period when ordinary Branch business tends to fall off.

Preliminary plans have been made for a special propaganda effort when the by-election is definitely declared in Ealing South. Special meetings, indoor and outdoor, will be held and a special drive to sell literature by canvassing and at our opponents' meetings will also be carried out.

A visit was made to the London Museum on 2nd March and was very much enjoyed. There was the usual successful social at a member's home in the evening.

Will all members please note that the Branch outing this year is to Eastbourne on Sunday, 22nd June. There



has been a very quick response for tickets and there are now only a few left. Members requiring seats are therefore asked to apply immediately, otherwise they will be disappointed. The price of the seats is 12s. 6d.

L.C.C. Election at Hackney. Members of Hackney Branch welcome the assistance of comrades in the forthcoming Council elections which take place on April 16th. Meetings to be held are advertised in this issue and there is plenty of other work to be done, particularly during the first two weeks of the month. Members should attend at the Election Headquarters, 56, Weymouth Terrace, E.2, on any weekday evening from 7 p.m.

"Socialist Standard." The Central Literature Committee is now very well organised and with the opening of the Summer Outdoor season, it is hoped that members will co-operate more than ever to see that the circulation of the Standard increases. If every member made even a little more effort, the Committee are sure that sales will increase. We cannot all be speakers and writers, but everyone can be a "seller," and what better medium to sell than the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

P. H.

POLITICS IN CANADA

(Concluded.)

Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

WE have often been reproached because we criticise the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. It is even said that we spend more time criticising the C.C.F. than we spend on all other groups combined. There may be some truth in this, but it must be pointed out that any group that professes, as the C.C.F. sometimes does, to stand for the same thing we stand for, is bound

to find itself the object of more than ordinary attention from us. After all, if the aim of the C.C.F. is the same as ours, why are we in the field as a separate organization, or, more appropriately, why did the original C.C.F. membership form a separate political organization when the Socialist Party was already in the field? These are questions that cannot be directed towards the Liberals

and Conservatives. They are quite happy about capitalism and they don't mind telling people about it.

The C.C.F., like the Social Credit movement, had its origin during the Hungry Thirties. The statement of its views was adopted at a gathering in Regina in 1933, which afterwards became known as the Regina Manifesto. This manifesto was highly regarded in C.C.F. circles for many years, being described frequently by one prominent C.C.F. member, the late John Queen, as a historical document. It is now almost forgotten, having been replaced by a new document identified as the Winnipeg Declaration of Principles. This declaration was said by many of the C.C.F.'s opponents to have scrapped the Party's adherence to Socialism. In reality, it scrapped or partly scrapped what some C.C.F. members thought was Socialism, an act that brought some relief and some indignation amongst different groups within the Party—but no exodus towards the Socialist Party. The C.C.F. could not adhere to something it never understood and it could not scrap something it never accepted. C.C.F. ideas have always, even in the Regina Manifesto, been linked with those of the Social Democratic Parties of Europe, particularly the British Labour Party. The British Labour Party was formed in 1906. One of its founders and first leader was Keir Hardie, who expressed himself as being favourable to Labourism, not Socialism. The second Labour Party leader was Ramsay MacDonald, who was prime minister of two Labour governments and completed his political career as prime minister of a national government made up mainly of Conservatives. The third Labour Party leader was Clement Attlee, who was prime minister of the post-war Labour government and who retired not long ago from active politics to become a peer of the British realm, a status so elevating that on his visit to Canada a year ago he avoided questions on political subjects and declared to press reporters that he was a statesman, not a politician. The C.C.F. has never been critical of this sort of thing. It evidently sees nothing in this to be critical about.

Like the British Labour Party, the C.C.F. has never advocated Socialism. It has sponsored and supported numerous schemes for public or government ownership and it has at times referred to these collectively as Socialism and individually as steps towards Socialism. To the C.C.F. the city-owned Winnipeg Hydro, the government-owned Canadian National Railways and all such concerns are Socialist in character. If there are certain evils attached to these establishments, that is because of Liberal or Conservative administration. Under C.C.F. administration they would lose these evils. This, of course, is foolishness, but it is the kind of thing the C.C.F. has been putting forward for many years under the heading of advanced and responsible politics. Perhaps the acme of foolishness was reached recently when some of its official representatives declared that the pressing need of today was for the government ownership of the natural gas pipe line that is at present stretching in all directions from Alberta. That this is not a pressing need at all is something the C.C.F. will probably never find out.

So much for the larger aims of the C.C.F. It gains much of its support, indeed, most of its support, not because it advocates government ownership. This just serves to give it a serious and learned appearance, so providing a credible base for other things, and it is these other things that are the main attraction to the average C.C.F. supporter. High wages, low prices (except to farmers), larger pensions and unemployment benefits, low

taxes (except to "big shots")—in brief, legislation to improve (or convey the impression that they will improve) the living conditions of the "common man." These things usually come under the heading of reforms, and reforms are the main stock in trade of the C.C.F.

A vast amount of sincerity rests behind most of the activities of the C.C.F. But sometimes one feels that this term can only be used with the greatest charity. More than 23 years ago a convention of the C.C.F. was held in Winnipeg and a resolution was brought before the delegates calling for old age pensions of \$40 a month. This resolution created a lot of discussion, but hardly any of it concerned itself about the needs of the old people. Mostly it centred around the response the \$40 proposal would receive from the electorate. To some, it was pointed out, this figure would seem sufficient; to others, it might seem miserly; while a third group might regard it as extravagant. The C.C.F. hoped to gain support from all sections of the people, so it was desirable to frame the resolution in such a way that it would have wide appeal. The delegates saw the logic of this position and the amended resolution dropped the \$40 proposal and called instead for an adequate pension. Over the years since this time the word "adequate" has relieved the C.C.F. of many a potentially embarrassing situation.

It might also be mentioned in passing that the \$40 pension which the C.C.F. found too hot to handle in 1934 has been in effect now for many years, introduced by a Liberal government. The Liberals also increased the amount not long ago by \$6, and the Conservatives more recently have increased it by an additional \$9.

Time and circumstance very often nullify the effects of reform. Capitalism has a bad habit of throwing up new evils or new twists to old evils, and it can manage to do this with as much rapidity as the reformers can cope with. No sooner is a patch applied here than the need arises for a patch elsewhere, and while this is being attended to the old patch breaks out again. And while reformers often point with pride to the reforms they have enacted or helped to enact, they are less frequent in pointing with pride to the wholesome, healthy and happy living conditions of those who have benefited by these reforms. It is doubtful if a reformer can be found anywhere so foolhardy as to declare that the country with the greatest number of reforms is the country with the highest standard of living.

A great deal more could be said about the C.C.F.'s policies and activities, but space will hardly permit. It must be added, however, that there is no good reason for the existence of the C.C.F. Its existence is actually harmful to the best interests of the workers, for it spreads wrong ideas about Socialism and helps to preserve the belief that the present system can be improved in such a way as to make life really worth while for the mass of people.

The Communist Party

Of the various other groups that seek the support of the Canadian electorate it is possible here to comment only, and briefly, on the Communist Party. This organization has been clamouring for the support of the workers ever since the early 1920s. It has existed under various names: the Workers' Party, the Communist Party, the Workers Unity League, the Labour-Progressive Party (its present name) and others. At election times it sometimes refers to itself as the Labour Election Committee. The reason for all this is partly to fool the authorities (who

have sometimes been troublesome) and partly to fool the workers. That it has succeeded at any time in fooling the authorities is doubtful; but it has had some success in fooling workers.

The Communist Party has always claimed to represent the workers, but it has never at any time concerned itself about the interests of the workers. It began as a section of the so-called Third or Communist International, which was organized and controlled by the Russian government, and it has at all times since then been completely subservient to that government. Whatever ideas and policies have been considered to be in line with the interests of Russia's rulers at any given time, these have been the ideas and policies of the Communist Party. There has never been a time when the C.P. has opposed a position taken by the Russian government, even when, as has frequently occurred, that position has been at variance with the interests of the workers. To show the unwholesome nature of this party one needs only to note that Stalin, who is so roundly condemned today, was worshipped and fawned upon by Communists during all the years he was dictator of Russia, praised in the most revolting way even in the midst of his greatest villainies, and is criticised today only because he is criticised by the Russian government.

The record of the C.P. is almost unbelievable in a group professing to represent the working class. During its earlier years it sought to control movements of workers and tried to destroy those it could not control. For many years it carried on mudslinging campaigns and violent attacks against other groups. On various occasions it sponsored strike breaking activities. And during the second world war it supported both sides at different times, in line with Moscow's changing fortunes.

CORRESPONDENCE

Truths and Facts

If the writer of the article "Get it Straight in 1958" did not imply what I stated in my letter, would the Editorial Committee please explain to me the purpose of the writer using a geometrical proposition in his article at all, as I cannot see any sense of the writer stating a self-evident geometrical truth in his article, which no one would care to challenge, if it were not related to the whole essence of his argument. For he writes quite clearly, this: "Everyone knows the shortest distance between two points is a straight line: a simple, unanswerable, self-evident proposition. Who, then, could fail to think and act on it?" Now this statement would be meaningless if it were not related to the cardinal point in the writer's argument, as I claimed it was. And this point was the analogy between a geometrical truth, and an historical fact. For in relation to the given geometrical proposition he adds this: "Well, in the manner of getting Socialism almost everybody acted otherwise." I take the statement to mean, that the intention of the writer was to make crystal clear the stupidity of people who don't fail to accept and act upon the stated geometrical proposition, but fail to accept and act upon the stated historical proposition of a straight line to Socialism. However, if the cardinal point of the writer was that of dealing with people who already accepted the essence of the Socialist idea, but thought that the reformist way would lead to

At no time has it taken an independent working class stand on any issue. At all times it has been an enemy of the workers.

The Socialist Party

The Socialist Party of Canada is different from the parties named above in various ways, but it is different in one very important respect: it advocates Socialism. This is something none of the others do or have ever done. Often have spokesmen for the C.C.F. complained about "old line" parties (Liberal and Conservative) stealing planks from their platform. It would be impossible to imagine a Socialist complaining about any part of the Socialist platform being stolen. We have only one plank: it is not necessary for anyone to steal it; we urge everyone to accept it. It calls for the establishment of a system of society in which the means of life will be owned, controlled and operated by and for the whole of the members of society. This plank forms the objective of the S.P.C. It is the one thing we ask people to accept and support, and we ask people to support it because it is the one thing that can bring about an effective treatment to the major problems of today. Poverty, wars, depressions, all the evils that loom large in the lives of people, have a common origin in the nature of existing society. They can be ended only with the ending of capitalism. The Socialists have been carrying this message to the workers continuously over the years. Today, at what may be the closing of another of capitalism's booms, with the world standing on the brink either of war or depression, the message becomes more urgent. How much longer will the workers disregard it and continue to place their trust in the system that is bringing them ever closer to destruction?

J. M.

(Socialist Party of Canada.)

Socialism, I would certainly not have challenged the article, nor, I'm sure, would have the writer brought forward, a geometrical proposition into his article just for to let us know about this simple truth. I claim that the geometrical proposition was related to the essence of his argument, from the simple fact that he begins his article by stating this proposition, and also ends his article by stating it. The Editorial Committee claim that it was pointless for me to state that the passions and actions of men in history has nothing in common with the abstract truths of mathematics, and they would have been to some extent correct in saying this, if my statement had not been related to the writer of the article who made this false analogy. Therefore, my point is this: What is true and clear in the realm of thought is only abstract truths, and that these truths have in general nothing to do with history, for the simple reason being that history is not moved by them. If it were, there would be no history. The facts of history are the passions of men in action, had it been otherwise there would have been no problems to solve in history.

R. SMITH (Dundee).

REPLY

Our correspondent, in his first letter (March, SOCIALIST STANDARD) criticised the article on the assumption that it had been directed to the position of non-Socialists. We pointed out that this was not so. Our correspondent returns to this point and we repeat that he is mistaken. The evidence is to be found in the article itself. In the first paragraph was the key refer-

ence, which was to "the matter of getting Socialism." It should be obvious that non-Socialists could not be concerned with the method of achieving Socialism. But that was not all. The article went on to specify the people with which it was concerned, i.e., "men and women who had the Socialist idea"; and again, "They really did aim at Socialism." Consequently, all of our correspondent's remarks, based on his wrong assumption, are irrelevant.

As regards history being the outcome of men's passions and actions we would point out that those who "had the Socialist idea" and who rejected the direct road to Socialism did not do so because of their own "passions," but because they thought about the matter and decided in favour of the roundabout reformist way because of their view about the political ignorance of the mass of the workers.

The point that is important, and that the article dealt with, was whether they were right or wrong in thinking that progress to Socialism could be made that way. We contend that experience has shown them to be wrong, thus confirming the view of the S.P.G.B. at the time.

ED. COMM.

Has the S.P.G.B. a Policy?

Leeds.

"Dear Sir,—If you have a constructive policy, and presumably you have one, it does not seem to come through in your columns; at least, I have not been able to find.

"You are excellent at attacking the other parties. In fact, your whole paper seems to me to be largely destructive.

"If you have a policy I should very much like to know what it is. I regret I have been unable to find it.

"I am not interested in mere platitudes. What are your constructive proposals for Britain and how are you going to put them into effect when you are in power?"

Yours truly,

K. HOYLE.

REPLY

This complaint is one we often hear, and one with which we have every sympathy. But it simply is not true that our correspondent and others like him do not know what our "constructive proposals" are. They read our Declaration of Principles, which briefly states our objective—a Socialist system of society—and read, for example, the

opening chapter of the pamphlet, "Questions of the Day," a chapter headed "What Socialism Is," but they just do not believe us when we say that this is our objective and our only objective. They are the victims of the "double talk" that has become the accepted propaganda of the Labour Party and similar bodies. The Labour Party has a double line of talk—on the one hand it says that its aim is Socialism, though it never defines it; on the other hand it has a set of ever-changing proposals that are claimed to be constructive, but which all boil down to trying to devise ways of enabling this country so to administer capitalism as to be able to survive in a capitalist world. Necessarily the main items in the proposals of any party aiming to do this consist of trying to capture markets for British goods and to gain and hold sources of materials (oil is one that at present holds a prominent place), and at the same time to achieve military security in a world that is driven to conflict and war by that same search for markets, etc.

When therefore readers ask us what are our "constructive" proposals for Britain, what they really want us to do is to say in what respect our proposals in these capitalist, economic and military fields differ from the Labour Party's. To which our reply is that we have none. We are Socialists and our aim is world Socialism, not the futile and suicidal search for ways of making capitalism work to the benefit of Britain. Our only constructive proposal is Socialism; a new and different social system for the people of the world. The method of putting this aim into effect is that a Socialist majority must gain control of the machinery of government for the purpose of refashioning the social system. It is a quite simple aim though hard to achieve. One of the greatest difficulties we have is with people like our correspondent, who do not believe that the aim of Socialists is to achieve Socialism—though what other aim should Socialists have? The proposition is, however, so staggering to non-Socialists, including the membership of the Labour Party, that they cannot easily bring themselves to consider it.

ED. COMM.

ON KEEPING UP WITH THE JONESES

"Dr. Wintle, Medical Officer of Health for South Oxfordshire, offers advice in his annual report on how to avoid coronary thrombosis. 'Stop trying to keep up with the Joneses,' he says.

"The doctor gives bad advice.

"It is competition which provides life with the most health-giving element of all—zest. Britain would indeed be in a sad state to-day if her captains of industry, her scientists and inventors, had never had the urge to get ahead of the Joneses.

"Besides, there are far greater dangers to human happiness than those which come from coronary thrombosis.

"Worrying about an illness which may never happen is one of them.

"Becoming a vegetable is another."

The above is taken from the "Editorial Column, Sunday Express (29/12/57).

The writer does not feel qualified to comment on the merits or demerits of the doctor's medical opinions. It would appear, however, the Sunday Express is of the

opinion a desire to get ahead of the Joneses is the driving force of scientists and inventors. Yet if we read the lives of many famous scientists and inventors, we find many of them spent their lives pursuing their aims regardless of reward. A British inventor died in poverty; yet he revolutionised the cotton industry by his invention of the spinning jenny. For though a great inventor he was no business man and was in fact swindled out of the patent rights of his invention. No desire to outdo the "Joneses" here. If we turn to France we find an even better example of devotion to science for its own sake without thought of gain; Pierre and Marie Curie discoverers of radium, steadfastly refused to make money out of their discovery. To use the words of Marie Curie in a conversation with her husband Pierre: "If our discovery has a commercial future, that is, an accident by which we must not profit. And radium is going to be of use in treating disease. It seems to me impossible to take

advantage of that." So much then for the comments of the *Sunday Express* on the driving force, with its avowed belief in the health-giving qualities of competition. There is, however, nothing healthy about present-day competition, since it breeds resentment, jealousy and frustration.

It brings out all the worst in man. Cooperation on the other hand fosters goodwill and friendship.

The *Sunday Express*, just like the *Daily Worker*, is most concerned that people should not give up the ghost, but go on striving for success within the framework of capitalism.

The *Daily Worker* encourages workers in Britain but not in Russia, of course, to strike for more pay, but they never mention the abolition of the wages system, while the *Sunday Express* talks about a fair day's work for a fair day's wage (whatever that is supposed to mean). As for "becoming vegetables," the writer is of the opinion the workers are behaving like cabbages in allowing the capitalist system to continue a day longer.

Instead, they should behave like mature adults organising to introduce a Socialist society, where all inventions will be used for the good of all mankind, and where the necessity for "getting ahead of the Joneses," imagined or otherwise, will have taken its place in the limbo of capitalist society along with "healthy competition" and all the rest, including the *Sunday Express*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Worker*, *Tribune*, and all the other "tripe."

PHIL MELLOR.

Wherever Galileo turned his telescope new stars appeared. The Milky Way, which had so puzzled the ancients, was found to be composed of stars. Stars that appeared single to the eye were some of them found to be double; and at intervals were found hazy nebulous wisps, some of which seemed to be star clusters, while others seemed only a fleecy cloud.

Now we come to his most sensational discovery. Examining Jupiter minutely on January 7th, 1610, he noticed three little stars near it . . . Jupiter had moons like the earth.

News of the discovery soon spread and excited the greatest interest and astonishment. Many, of course, refused to believe it. Some there were who, having been shown them, refused to believe their eyes, and asserted that, although the telescope acted well enough for terrestrial objects, it was altogether false and illusory when applied to the heavens. Others took the safer ground of refusing to look through the glass. One of those who would not look at the satellites happened to die soon afterwards.

"I hope," says Galileo, "that he saw them on his way to heaven."

Pioneers of Science: Oliver Lodge (Macmillan, 1928).

LETTERS FROM READERS INVITED

Our last Annual Conference decided that a section of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* be reserved for letters from readers as a regular feature. Readers are invited to send letters of comment and criticism and questions for answer. Letters should be kept as short as possible as space is limited, and the shorter the letters the larger the number that can be printed. EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

WE MEASURE OUR NEEDS BY SOCIETY

"A noticeable increase of wages presupposes a rapid growth of productive capital. The rapid growth of productive capital brings about an equally rapid growth of wealth, luxury, social needs, social enjoyment.

Thus, although the enjoyments of the worker have risen, the social satisfaction they give has fallen in comparison with the increased enjoyments of the capitalists, which are inaccessible to the worker, in comparison with the state of development of society in general.

Our needs and enjoyment spring from society, we measure them, therefore by society and NOT by the objects of their satisfaction.

Because they are of a social nature, they are of a relative nature.

Wage-Labour and Capital. Karl Marx.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA AND PADDINGTON BRANCHES MAY DAY MEETING

at
EARLS COURT GARDENS
(opposite Earls Court Station)

THURSDAY, May 1st, at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:—E. GRANT, J. KEYS, F. WALTERS, C. MAY.
Questions Invited. All Welcome.

SOCIAL at HEAD OFFICE on

FRIDAY (Easter Friday), APRIL 4th at 8 p.m.
Refreshments . . . Music

Come for a comradesly evening with London and
Provincial Members (Admission Free)

ELECTION MEETINGS

BETHNAL GREEN TOWN HALL (Room 3)
CAMBRIDGE HEATH ROAD, E.2

at 8.30 p.m.

Wed. April 2nd. "The Bankruptcy of
Conservatism"—F. JAMES.
" " 9th. "Any Questions on Socialism"—
JAMES, READ and IVIMEY.
Thurs. " 3rd. at COLUMBIA SCHOOL, COLUMBIA
ROAD, E.2., at 7.30 p.m.
Tues. " 8th. at LAURISTON SCHOOL, LAURISTON
ROAD, E.9., at 7.30 p.m.
Mon. April 14th. at CO-OPERATIVE HALL, 195, MARE
STREET, E.8., at 8 p.m.
Speakers: R. COSTER and J. READ.

Admission Free. Questions and Discussion.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

SUNDAYS at 11 a.m., at Bottom of Brick Lane Market
(E.1) (Near Vallance Road)

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

THURSDAY EVENINGS at 8 p.m.

at
34, ST. GEORGE'S SQUARE, S.W.1.
(Wilcox, top flat)

April 17th "Shuttle and Cage"

Recording of twelve British industrial folk songs and ballads,
followed by an informal discussion.

May 1st "May Day Meeting"
(see advertisement on page 62)

May 15th "Murderers' Home"

A recording of eighteen Negro work songs, made in 1947 by
Alan Lomax of the Mississippi State Penitentiary, followed by an
informal discussion.

June 5th "The Electrical Trades Union"

A member of the E.T.U. will open a discussion on recent trends
in that union.

June 19th "Blues in the Mississippi Night"

A documentary recording describing the social conditions of
Negro workers that existed in the South of the United States
between 1890 and 1930 when the Blues were formed, followed
by an informal discussion.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box
1440, Melbourne, Australia.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box
115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick
Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin,
Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road,
Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O.
Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED
STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

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(6 months, 4/-) for which 7/6 is enclosed.

Name

(BLOCK LETTERS)

Address

(State, if renewal, or new subscriber)

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by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park ... 3.30—5 p.m.
East Street
(Walwerth) April 6th 12 noon
" 13th 12 noon
" 20th 1 p.m.
" 27th 11 a.m.—1 p.m.

THURSDAYS

Gloucester Road ... 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road ... 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Finsbury Pavement ... Tuesdays
Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTEMHAM.—Secretary: Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.
BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Banvie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.
MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breaky, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIDbury 5709.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 33, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDFIELD AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellon Rd., Pencoolgi, Nfr. Llanelly

MAY DAY MEETING

SUNDAY, 4th MAY at 7 p.m. at
DENISON HOUSE, 296 VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD
(Near Victoria Station)

"The Class Struggle and May Day"

Speakers - - C. MAY and D. MCCARTHY

Admission Free Questions and Discussion

ANNUAL DANCE AND SOCIAL

at
CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1

on
SATURDAY, 5th APRIL, at 7 p.m.

Tickets 3/6 Refreshments

CONFERENCE RALLY

Sunday, 6th April at 7.30 p.m. at
CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1.

"ANNIHILATION OR SOCIALISM?"

Speakers: E. Wilmott and J. D'Arcy

Chairman: E. Grant

Tape Recordings from U.S.A. in Afternoon and Films
of Party Activities in Evening

Admission Free Questions and Discussion

ISLINGTON DISCUSSIONS

at
CO-OP HALL, 129, SEVEN SISTERS ROAD, N.7

Thursdays at 8 p.m.

April 3rd "Henry George School of
Social Science" — Mr. SAVDJI

Admission Free Questions and Discussion

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

at
CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1.

on

FRIDAY, SATURDAY and SUNDAY

April 4th, 5th, and 6th.

Commencing FRIDAY and SUNDAY at 11 a.m.

SATURDAY at 2.30 p.m.

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (April 3rd and 17th) at Casway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., at 7.30 p.m.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Thursdays at 8 p.m., at 32 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Belling Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELS meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Oakhill Road, Eccles. Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m. at 34, St. George's Square, (Wilcon, top flat) S.W.1. All correspondence to Secretary, c/o. H. O., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrook, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (April 9th and 23rd) at 8 p.m., The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (April 7th and 21st) at 8 p.m. at Patrick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to F. McKenzie, 112, Cardness Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivinay, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m., April 9th and 23rd, 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o. Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Enquiries to Sec. J. G. Griskey, at that address.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbush, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WICKFORD meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m., "Skara Brae," Farm Crescent, Woodham Road, Battlesbridge, Essex. Enquiries to Secretary, L. R. Plummer.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Thursdays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Ladbroke Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 'Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at 118, Pelham Road, Wood Green, N.22.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Ebbw, S.E.9.

INTOLERANCE IN MALTA

While the Chinese are in process of adopting a Latin alphabet, it is interesting, if not heartbreaking, to note how slow is the progress in the backwaters of civilisation. A recent article in the *Times* discloses that in Malta only Roman Catholics are permitted to have religious processions; other religions may practise but not demonstrate. "Vilification of the Roman Catholic religion may be punished by up to six months' imprisonment, but for vilification of other religions by up to only three months' imprisonment. One is led to wonder if there is any punishment for the vilification of atheism, which some mental perverts hold to be a form of religion. Still, progress cannot be held back, and one of these days there will be Socialists even in Malta.

R. M.

***THE* SOCIALIST STANDARD**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

SOCIALISM OR ANNIHILATION?

★ ★ ★

TO BUSMEN AND OTHERS

★ ★ ★

THE SAD RELIGION

★ ★ ★

SATELLITE SANITY

★ ★ ★

A SHORT QUIZ ON DEPRESSION

6^D

Monthly

No. 645 Vol. 54 May, 1958

Registered for transmission to
Canada and Newfoundland

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The **SOCIALIST STANDARD**, **WESTERN SOCIALIST** and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.

READ

The Journal of Scientific Socialism in the Western Hemisphere, the

WESTERN SOCIALIST

Published jointly by the World Socialist Party of the U.S.A. and the Socialist Party of Canada

MONTHLY - SIXPENCE

12 months : 6s. — 6 months : 3s.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hackney—Junct. of Hereford St. and Cheshire St., E.11 ... 11 a.m.
Hyde Park ... 3.30—5 p.m.
East Street (Walworth) May 4th 11 a.m.
" 11th 12 noon
" 18th 12 noon
" 25th 1 p.m.
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 p.m.
(from May 11th)

THURSDAYS AND FRIDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road ... 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Finbury Pavement ... Tuesdays
Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

ANNIHILATION OR SOCIALISM?

Address by E. Wilmott at Conway Hall on Easter Sunday.

IF HAMLET had soliloquised today he might have begun:—"To H.B. or not to H.B., that is the question. Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous war and perchance the iron yoke of soviet totalitarianism or to end it all by a single throw." Today this question to H.B. or not to H.B. has caused Hamlets to pop up all over the place each with his own little soliloquy. One might, however, point out that if the old Hamlet was symptomatic of there being something rotten in the state of Denmark, the new Hamlets are also symptomatic of there being something rotten in the states of capitalism. And one might also remind our modern soliloquisers of the sombre fact that Hamlet himself came to a sticky finish.

The possibility of this world coming to a sudden and fiery finish is not new, but very old. For centuries men believed that the world would be destroyed by "an act of God." Unfortunately, what is a time-honoured piece of religious fiction has assumed the stark possibilities of scientific fact. Nor did our ancestors ever contemplate destroying the world themselves. They would never have dreamed of such a thing because they believed that the world was not theirs but God's. He alone had the exclusive rights and patent in the making of the earth and presumably had the exclusive right to dispense with the patent whenever he thought fit. Therefore they could view with something like equanimity the destruction of the world by God, supported by a working force of able bodied angels, setting the whole lot alight by brimstone and fire. Such a view was at least simple, uncomplicated and even homely. But God, alas, has so often threatened to destroy the world and so often deferred his promise that men in the course of social development have finally come to arrogate to themselves this function which was supposed to be exclusively God's. And with the enormous advances in nuclear physics and the effect which a specific application of it has on the genetic structure of men, they can now perform this function more efficiently than God. In fact, so much more efficiently that one might murmur: "Thank God! that God when he put the world together with his do-it-yourself bit, knew nothing of nuclear fission and when He put Adam together in the same way, even less about biology."

At least men in the past had the consolation of believing that if and when the world was destroyed they would be transferred to new and roomier quarters. Today, we must face the melancholy fact that not even the

most thorough investigation in nuclear physics discloses such a consolation. We can, in the event of the dropping of the hydrogen bomb, merely be told the alternatives in which our sojourn on this earth may end. Some say the world will disintegrate with the raising of the temperature to 10 million degrees centigrade, and I must confess if at the risk of using a mixed metaphor that the mere thought of such heat makes my blood run cold.

Another variation via the H.B. is that the intense radio activity set up by it will mutate *homo saps* into biological perversions. A little while ago somebody with a macabre sense of humour, it seems, suggested that somewhere in darkest Africa (they still call it "darkest Africa"), a species of apes who had escaped it all might re-enact the evolutionary process and perhaps once again carry on the story of man. Such a view, I think, grossly underestimates the intelligence of monkeys. Rather I could imagine in such an H.B. event the said monkeys crossing themselves and offering thanks to Darwin that they just missed evolution!

I do not intend, however, to play the role of Dicken's fat boy and "make yer flesh creep." Whether the H.B. will or will not be dropped or will or will not destroy the world has been spoken about many times by many people, I have nothing to add. Rather I want to deal with the H.B. in particular and war in general from the historical standpoint, because I believe that this is the best way to understand the nature of the problem and its solution.

I would like, however, to make one or two observations. First, we hold that capitalism is a social organisation whose economic rivalries, lust for profits, and overriding compulsion for the self-expansion of capital, give it an inherent bias towards war, and not only that, but makes war itself an instrument of policy which in the last analysis becomes the means of dealing with the conflicts within the system. This has not been our view merely since the advent of the H.B., the second world war or first world war, but since the year we came into existence—1904, and it is a viewpoint from which we have never departed. When some Labourites say that they opposed the H.B. in 1954 we retort that they are fifty years behind the times, we opposed it in 1904.

This is not the view of other parties. It is not the view of the Labour Party. In spite of a tradition of semi-pacifist and anti-war sentiments in their early days, the Labour Party has always accepted war as a legitimate instrument of policy. Right from the start they refused to face up to the fact that the abolition of war and the

abolition of capitalism were part and parcel of the same problem. Our views they sneered at as being too utopian and heroic. What is more, the acceptance of such views as ours would take too long.

So they posed as practical idealists, accepting war as a necessary but regrettable feature of social life; they proposed to deal with things as they are. Thus, they set out to seek to limit war, to bring about gradual disarmament and humanise as far as possible its brutalities. Although how one can humanise brutalities they never explained. In this way they said men might even come to accept in the long run that war is not the best way of settling human conflicts. This, they argued, was the short cut, practical method, and even before the first world war sections of the Labour Party stated that war must be restricted and not include unrestricted naval warfare of the open seas. No shelling of open towns and slaughter of innocent non-combatants, as if the men who later were to be pressed and dressed in uniform were in some way guilty and responsible parties. It seemed quite all right to train men to kill and be killed, but one in the name of decency should spare the women and kids. Only cads would do that sort of thing.

Then war came, and this being, as they said, a necessary, although regrettable, instrument of policy, they, one supposes, regretfully supported it. But they also again regretfully found themselves supporting unrestricted naval warfare and shelling of open towns and hereinafter these things were taken off the restricted list of man's inhumanity to man. Then certain Labour elements fell back on a second line of defence. No submarine warfare. No liquid fire. No poison gas. No mass bombing of towns and cities. But war came again and in line with their views they supported it and, of course, submarine warfare, mass aerial bombing, in addition to the other things they added naphalm and dum-dum bullets. And so in their practical, short-cut way of restricting war and humanising its brutalities they had come to include everything: one can only add if events have brought no acceptance to our views they have turned chaos into a tragic farce.

What these elements in the Labour Party never realised or perhaps never knew was not only that the system had an inherent bias towards war but that the means of production are constantly expanding and war itself being part of the means of production must inevitably take part in this expansion.

Now they have a third line of defence. Let us have unrestricted naval bombardment, shelling of open towns, submarine warfare, mass air bombing, naphalm, rockets and atomic artillery as part of our restricted war weapons, but let us play the game and not include the H.B., and so one watches the steady decline of their ideals and their moral case against war being converted into expediency.

But actual events played cruel tricks with our "practical idealists." Now comes the news of the clean H.B. It will be the biggest bang of all time, but no bad after effects like mutations. Death, it seems, will be sudden, painless—and free. This places our practical short-cut idealists in a new dilemma. It becomes now a big bang among other big bangs and can be included in the light of their own logic in the decencies of war. So, perhaps in future they will declare, we will fight a clean war with a clean H.B., but not a dirty war with a dirty H.B.

And, again, as if events were maliciously conspiring to prevent their humanitarian short-cut method of dealing with war, along come the Russians exploding a new type of Hiroshima atom bomb and its dirtier than the H.B. The Labour Party is committed to the use of atomic bombs and so if the Russians make bigger and better atomic bombs then so must they. What then becomes of their case against the H.B.? What an unholy muddle these practical people make of the world. It might be said that in trying the short cut they lost their way. The answer is, they never knew their way right from the start.

Yet there is another climax, or should we say anti-climax. Even suppose the H.B. is banned by the great powers would our troubles be at end? Not on your life. Would the liaisons, rivalries and hates of the system disappear? Would not the removal of the H.B. as a war weapon accentuate those things and by making war once more a conventional instrument of policy, precipitate the process of war itself? In any case the vast mass of workers would be the main sufferers in an H.B. war, just as they would in a non-H.B. war. In both cases they would get it in the neck.

Another view put forward by people like Soper, Russell, Priestley, King Hall, and others, that if necessary we should let the Russians occupy England, on the ground that communism, unlike the H.B., is not irreversible. They forget that even if that did happen it might not deter the ruling class of America from wiping out this Soviet base with a H.B., clean or dirty.

And so we face the ghastly paradox of a social system which cannot live without the H.B. yet cannot go on living with it. In a rational world the great scientific and technological achievement associated with its production would be a victory for life. In this system it assumes a portent for death.

People like Russell and others do not want to abolish war, but what is an uncontrollable weapon of war. They forget that this uncontrollable weapon is but the outcome of an uncontrollable system. Thus, in spite of their protest about the abolition of the H.B., never once have they opposed capitalism. That is why when they merely call for the abolition of the H.B. they dip their pens in water. Instead, they ought to be writing in words of fire across the sky the abolition of the capitalist system.

Fifty years ago we came into existence and nothing which has happened since has caused us to regret anything we have done and said, and if we had to do it all over again we should still say the same things because we believe that they have been the only things that have been worth saying. The passage of the years has not undermined our basic concepts, but strengthened them. When in 1904 we said capitalism was inadequate for human beings, events have fortified our claims and added a new note of urgency.

We have been accused of holding a view that man is an entirely rational being. The heartbreaks, stupidities and cruelties of his history disprove it. But man is not entirely an irrational creature, his history also proves that. Men have shown in the past that they were able to overcome the problems with which they were faced. In fact, it was the overcoming of these problems which made further social development possible, and what men have achieved in the past they can achieve in the present, and because of the knowledge of men's past and present

history we have faith that the vast majority are capable of becoming the representatives of a new humanised mankind.

That is why we remain incorrigible optimists and refuse to accept the view that the story of man will be violently terminated and that his brief, fitful yet startling sojourn on earth will be rung down in a curtain of fire. In fact, we hold that once he has shaken off the primitive shackles of class domination, the glories of the past will fade their ineffectual fire before those of the future and that capitalism so far from being the beginning of the

end of men's story will be the end of the beginning in terms of his pre-history.

Nevertheless, the vast majority must come to grips with their own historic problems. They must see that only the reconstitution of society on a new principle of free and equal access to wealth resource and a new social morality in which the free development of one is a condition for the free development of all makes it possible for men at last to begin to live together rather than to perpetuate a social order where perhaps they may only die together.

A SHORT QUIZ ON DEPRESSION

(Scene: Any University)

Professor: We will now consider the economic situation. Who will start the discussion?

First Student: I take it that we are to consider the growing slump in U.S.A., Britain and elsewhere?

Professor: We prefer nowadays not to use the term "slump" or "depression": perhaps "recession," or "rolling adjustment" or "temporary halt in prosperity" would be better. We economists have a great responsibility. We must not use crude terms that are likely to spread alarm and despondency and thus aggravate the situation.

First Student: But are not the unemployed already alarmed and despondent?

Professor: I was not thinking of the unemployed but of important people, the captains of industry and the investors on whose decisions the economic health of the nation depends.

First Student: I do not quite understand this.

Professor: Well, if these important people were to decide on a wholesale programme of expansion, planning new factories and plants and placing large orders for materials, the upswing would begin again. But if they do not feel confident of the future they will not do so.

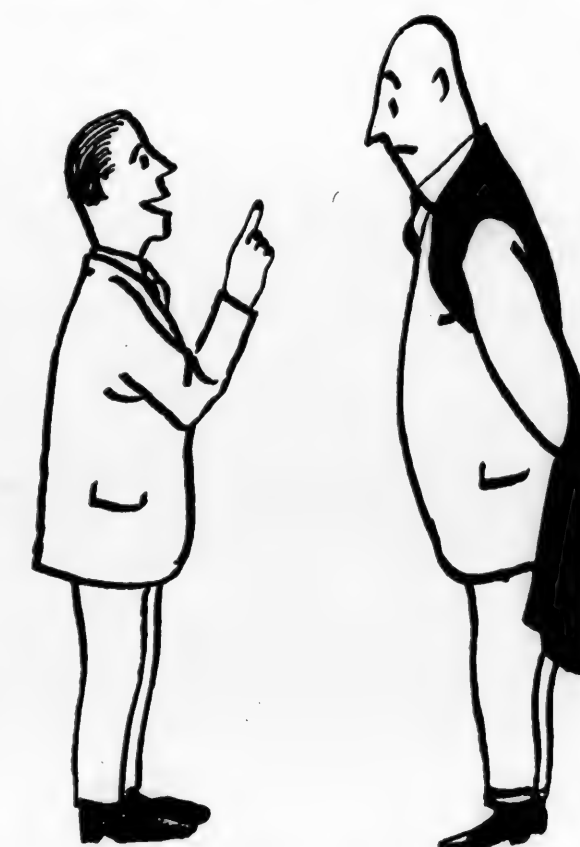
First Student: Does this mean that through temperamental instability, just when things were going well, they suddenly lost their nerve and started cutting down?

Professor: Not at all. They are men of strong will and sound judgment, but they could see that a lot of the articles their factories were producing were facing a falling demand and could not be sold at a profit. So, naturally, they decided to do the sensible thing and play for safety. To go on would have been to risk their investments.

Second Student: But, with all respect, Professor, your own economics text book tells us that the social justification for the capitalist entrepreneurs is that they are society's "risk takers." Since, in a time of boom, their risks are practically negligible is it not precisely now that they ought to be taking risks? Besides if they did, this would not be the boom return and they would then not be running any risk?

Professor: You have a point there, but when all consumer demand has been satisfied it would be senseless to plan greater production of things that are already in excess of need. And how can they know what new things may be needed a few years ahead?

Second Student: But surely it is not true that everywhere the people's needs have been met? I read in



United Nations publications that up to half the world population are undernourished and badly housed and lacking all sorts of things?

Professor: True, but that is chiefly in the backward countries where they have so far not had the great advantages of the fully developed capitalism that we have in U.S.A., Britain and Western Europe. Most of those suffering millions have not the money to buy and everyone knows that production can only be carried on for sale and profit.

Third Student: But is it really true that all needs have already been met in the advanced countries you mention, U.S.A., Britain, etc.? What about the unemployed and many others? Why don't they buy up all the "surplus" articles; they certainly need them.

Professor: They, unfortunately, also have no money. That is why the Government and charitable organisations have to help them with unemployment pay and soup kitchens.

Third Student: But as we are told that we have had years of unheard-of prosperity and that "we have never

had it so good," why are all these workers practically destitute?

Fourth Student: May I be allowed to answer that? I have regularly listened to the talks by the Professor and his colleagues and I have often heard them say that the workers ought to work harder if they want to prosper and avoid unemployment. Perhaps the unemployed are the ones who did not work hard enough.

Third Student: But as we are agreed that many articles have been produced in excess of what can be sold at a profit, would not the problem be even worse if these workers had worked harder and produced still more goods?

Professor: That is a very complex question and I think we had better leave it for the present and consider how we can get out of the temporary difficulties we are in. It is here that we economic experts can make our most fruitful contribution to welfare.

Fifth Student: I have been reading in the *Financial Times* of March 19th that the followers of that Great Thinker, the late J. M. Keynes, know how to cure the recession; by lower interest rates, reductions of taxes, and big spending on public works by the Government. Only they cannot agree among themselves which of these methods to use and when to do it.

Professor: Undoubtedly the remedy can be found in some or all of the methods indicated by Keynes in those so lucid studies of his.

Sixth Student: But I can't see how low interest rates, and reduced taxes are going to encourage the unemployed to spend money? They aren't paying any taxes and haven't any money.

Professor: No, it is our more affluent and important citizens who are to be influenced, the people who have the money.

Sixth Student: But if these rich people, the investors, already have the money but are unwilling to invest it in expanding production because they cannot see any sure prospect of profit in it, are you certain that lower interest and lower taxes will make them change their minds?

Professor: Well, put like that, it does seem rather like a step in the dark, but at least it will do no harm. Besides, there is the other part of the programme, big government expenditure.

Seventh Student: What will the Government find to spend the money on? After all these years of unexampled prosperity there can hardly be anything left that needs to be done?

Fifth Student: I know the answer to that. It was in the *Financial Times*. It says that one group of Keynesians in the U.S.A. "look at the nation's vast needs for schools, slum clearance and urban renewal roads, parks, resources development and an infinity of other things."

Seventh Student: But if we have all had it so good for so long, why are there great masses of people living in slums and lacking so many things? It looks to me as if prosperity goes only to the rich. It is not only that millions have been living in slums, but I also read in the *Daily Mail* of September 3rd last year a statement made by an official of the American equivalent of the Trades Union Congress that 30 million Americans, or one-fifth of the population, are "ill-clothed, ill-housed and ill-fed." And in another issue of the *Daily Mail*, November 26th,

1957, was a statement that "some 17,000,000 Americans live in dwellings that are beyond rehabilitation—decayed, dirty, rat-infested, without decent heat or light or plumbing."

We all know that much the same is true of many people in this country.

Professor: We are, I fear, in some danger of straying beyond our proper limits of economic study, into the fields of politics and social questions. It is in the natural order of things that there should be rich and poor. It is morally right, and in the true interest of us all, that the great rewards should go to our best types, those who know how to make proper use of the wealth of which they are custodians on behalf of society.

Eighth Student: An idea has just occurred to me. Would it not be the simplest solution for the Government to hand out really large sums of money (say about the same amount that they spend on armaments) to the unemployed and the slum dwellers and others in poverty? They would rush out and spend it on all the things they need and the slump would be gone.

You will have noticed that President Eisenhower has been complaining about people saving money instead of spending it. The unemployed could be relied on to spend money quickly.

Professor: I don't want to stifle genuine discussion, but I must say I am shocked at such an irresponsible, indeed positively anti-social suggestion. It would demoralise them to give them unearned money, and might encourage them to be lazy. It would also discourage the rich, the investors, because it is they who would have to pay the taxes to enable the Government to give away the money. It would put wealth into the wrong hands and shake the foundations of society. It would undermine the habit of saving. Without saving by the capitalists, where would we get the capital we need for the development of industry?

First Student: I am not impressed. You agreed that the depression shows itself in falling sales of articles of consumption. You agree that the poor, if given the money, would spend it. You agree that the capitalists aren't using their money to expand the building of factories to make more work, so the proposal, even if it didn't solve anything, wouldn't make things worse and at least the unemployed and the rest of the semi-destitute would get some benefit.

Professor: But, my young friend, you do not realise half the evil that would result. If these large sums were handed out like that, all workers would be encouraged to be greedy and demand higher wages. They would be in a somewhat stronger bargaining position, whereas what we need (that is to say, what society needs), is that wages should come down, then the prospect of future profit would look better to the capitalists and they would be encouraged to start thinking of new enterprises. The late J. M. Keynes thoroughly appreciated this.

First Student: Well, I must say, it is a rum state of affairs that we should have to put people out of work and lower the wages of the rest, when everyone agrees that what is needed is more people buying things.

Professor: Perhaps you are one of those Socialists who want everything divided up and all industry nationalised?

Ninth Student: I am a Socialist and, of course, Socialists don't want anything of the kind.

Professor: Very well, how would you cure the recession?

Ninth Student: We aren't offering to show how capitalism could be improved so that it doesn't have poverty and depressions and wars. It can't be done. We suggest that the only way is to change the whole basis of production and distribution. Why not get rid of buying and selling, profits and wages, capitalists and workers, and get all people cooperating together to produce the things that everyone needs, and freely distribute them?

A GOOD IDEA FOR TRADE UNIONISTS

Are you satisfied with your Unions?

In the early days of Trade Unionism it was difficult to form a union and dangerous to belong to one—danger of victimisation by the employer and danger of imprisonment for breaking the anti-union laws. Those who became trade unionists under those conditions valued their membership and believed that the trade unions would do great things. Now it is easy to be a trade unionist and the attitude is different. Over half of the workers do not belong to a union and most of those who join are not interested enough to go to their branch meetings. Few members now expect anything very great from their union, and many join only because they have to. What was once looked on as a great forward movement has become a settled institution. Membership has become a sort of cheap insurance policy, the management of which can be left to the paid officials and executive committees.

What have Trade Unions achieved?

Trade Unions carry on a lot of practical day-to-day activities for their members, but in the big questions of wages and hours how much can be claimed for them, beyond the fact that conditions would be worse for the workers if they had no unions? It must be said that the trade unions do little more than keep wage rates in line with prices. Since 1938 wage rates on an average have increased about 10 per cent. more than the rise in the cost of living. Some trades have fared better than the average and others worse. The only other gain has been a small reduction of standard weekly hours of work. Not much to show for twenty years of struggle! And they could have done rather better than this if trade unionists had disregarded the propaganda of the Labour Government 1945-1951 and the Tory Governments afterwards in favour of "wage restraint" and had been more ready to use the strike weapon. Which brings us to the question of the attitude of governments towards wage claims and strikes.

Governments and Wages

Sometimes a government will approve some moderate increase of wages and will even take action to raise wages that are very low, but if workers try to push wages up beyond a modest level all governments will oppose the attempt. They do this because it is profit that keeps the present social system going, and if wages went up too much there would be no profit for the employers.

Some trade unionists think that a Labour Government would be different. They have forgotten what has already been mentioned, that the "wage restraint" policy of the Tories was taken over by them from the Labour

Professor: What I think is that we should keep our feet on the ground and deal with practical things in a practical way, as we have always done.

Ninth Student: It doesn't look very practical to me.

Professor: I think it is time we ended this session.

Postscript. (Scene: the students' common room.)

The assembled Tory, Liberal, Labour, Communist and I.L.P. students agree that the S.P.G.B. idea is impossible. H.

Government of 1945-1951.

Does this mean that there is nothing trade unionists can do except put up with what they get? There is a way out, but it requires looking beyond the limits of the industry in which the individual worker gets his living and the union he belongs to.

The wider world of the Working Class

All over the world, and on both sides of the "iron curtain," the great majority of people get their living by being "employees"—only a small minority are able to live the other way, by being owners of enough property to live on their dividends, interest or rents. All of the workers and their families depend on the wages (or salaries) they receive. These wages are the price the workers get for selling their physical and mental energies to an employer, a company or a nationalised industry—it makes no difference.

All workers have an interest in trying to raise the level of wages. They would therefore be acting in their own best interest if they stood together and supported each other—not just standing together with workers in the same factory or office, or in the same industry and country, but with fellow workers in all trades and all countries.

But even this, desirable and sensible as it is, would not get us very far. It would line up the workers against the efforts of employers and governments to keep wages down, but it would still leave us living in a world governed by profit.

Another way

This is where Socialism comes into the picture. And let us say straight out that Socialism does not mean Labour Government (or Communist Party Government) or nationalisation! The nationalisation of coal and railways and electricity, etc., had nothing to do with Socialism, and has not solved any of the problems facing the workers.

The difference between Socialism on the one hand and the social arrangements in Britain, U.S.A., Russia, etc., on the other, are fundamental. Under Socialism people all over the world will co-operate and produce what is needed by everyone. Manufacture, agriculture, transport, and so on, will all be operated in the same direct way, without buying or selling, without profit, rent and interest, and without wages. All people will have free access to what is produced.

It was to win this social system that the Socialist movement began a century or more ago. Nowadays most of those who call themselves socialists have forgotten all

about Socialism. It will be well worth your while to enquire further into Socialism. Don't be put off by what Socialism's opponents say about it. Socialism has nothing

in common with British capitalism administered by a Labour Government or with Russian police state capitalism governed by the Communist Party.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

The May Day issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD is always regarded by Party members as a special one. Over the years it has had various "dress-ups," such as coloured covers or special lay-out, and often the issue has been larger than those of the other eleven monthly issues. This year the lay-out is re-arranged and four pages have been added. In addition, the contents have an air of enthusiasm, which is very pleasing to say the least. A successful conference just over; Hackney L.C.C. election candidates; Paddington Branch's visit to Aldermaston; and a short B.B.C. Broadcast (on the L.C.C. elections), which was crammed with good information about the Party, these activities auger well for renewed activity and enthusiasm by Party members in propagating the case for Socialism.

Hackney Council Election. Members have been working well and hard, holding many meetings and selling literature and distributing leaflets. The work done will help considerably when we contest the next General Election.

Paddington Branch have recently published a leaflet on Nuclear War for distribution at meetings whenever this subject is being discussed.

On Easter Monday the branch organised an outing to attend the Aldermaston H-Bomb rally. Despite the cold weather, thirty-five Party members, representing eleven branches, made the journey. Nearly 2,000 leaflets were distributed and literature sales amounted to £2 10s.; most of this total was accounted for by sales of the War pamphlet. Members enjoyed the day and one group of twelve were last seen heading for home in a member's van arguing hotly with Communists who had been offered a lift with malice aforethought.

Socialism on the Air. On Wednesday, April 9th, something about the Socialist Party was stated on the radio for the first time.

In the B.B.C.'s "Town and Country" programme, Miss Honor Balfour spoke for five minutes on the minority parties contesting the L.C.C. elections. Since this was the first of three talks, part of the time was spent describing the general scope of the elections and the L.C.C., leaving perhaps four minutes for speaking about ourselves, the Liberal Party, the Communist Party and the I.L.P.

Miss Balfour chose her words well, and was able to tell briefly how the Socialist Party differs from other parties, including the I.L.P. She explained also that we do not conduct election campaigns with posters, photographs and slogans, but seek only to put the Socialist case for people to consider.

We thank Miss Balfour for speaking fairly of us, and congratulate the B.B.C. on its temerity in allowing us fifty seconds after thirty-five years of broadcasting.



Debate with Social Credit. In spite of cold, wet weather, 120 people came to hear the debate in Glasgow on March 30th between the Rev. V. R. Hill, of the Social Credit organization and R. Coster, for the Socialist Party. The subject was "Can Social Credit Abolish Poverty."

Mr. Hill's case was the series of fallacies about production and the banking system on which the Social Credit movement has traded for more than twenty-five years: the shops were crammed with goods, he said, and the banks could create money *ad lib*, he said, so the answer to poverty was for money to be made and distributed all round.

Our speaker had not much difficulty in disposing of this ill-informed nonsense by refuting the proposition that banks create money and explaining the real trouble with capitalism.

A keenly interested audience put a number of questions and vied for participation in the discussion period. There was no doubt about the conclusions which they drew from hearing the two cases compared.

Annual Conference. It was thought that as the Agenda this year was not very long, there would be time to spare at Conference, and arrangements were in hand to utilise spare time giving tape-recordings, which were sent and added to by the W.S.P. of U.S.A. However, these were not heard on the Sunday (a pleasure still to come) as by Saturday the Delegates at Conference made the most of all the time at their disposal to discuss items on the Agenda, and by Sunday afternoon they were still discussing literature and in particular the STANDARD. Discussion was excellent and constructive and it became necessary to refer the remainder of the items to the Delegate Meeting. (Maybe we shall hear the tape recordings then, also.) There was a fully representative delegation, including a delegate from Eccles (our smallest numerical branch). It is a long time since we have had a member from Eccles at Conference and it is hoped that this branch will always be represented at future conferences. Although the tape-recording session was not held on the Sunday, there was time, of course, to hear the recorded greetings from the W.S.P. It gave the impression that our American Comrades were at the Conference with us.

(Continued on page 74)

THE SAD RELIGION

Talking of the great religions that enslave men's thoughts. Spiritualism rarely comes to mind. Nevertheless, it has more devotees than any minority; and, if you reckon all the half-convinced and the non-practitioners, probably as many as most branches of orthodox Christianity.

Nobody knows even approximately the number who believe in spirits. There is no demarcation between Spiritualism and the ordinary religious beliefs: most Spiritualists are simply Christians with special interest in the after-life. Virtually every town or suburb of any size has a Spiritualist Church, but there is also a good deal of séance-holding in front rooms, as well as occasional mass demonstrations of clairvoyance in the larger cities. There are two Spiritualist journals, and the older-established of these, *Psychic News (Two Worlds)* is the other one, claims a circulation of 25,000.

In the last few years popular interest in Spiritualism has grown considerably. The reason hardly needs pointing out. It was, in fact, the 1914-18 war that set the Spiritualist movement on its feet; J. Arthur Hill's *Spiritualism*, published in 1913, testifies that numbers then were "not very great." For the truth is that Spiritualism is a sad religion which has sprung from the disconsolation and loneliness of the bereaved; its sustainers have been not Lodge, Crookes, Wallace and the rest, but the dead of two wars and their widows.

Leaving aside the anthropological aspects (though the medium's ancestry goes back to Plato and his kinship to the *ju-ju* man), the modern Spiritualist movement can be said to have begun in America in the eighteen-forties. A Methodist household astonished New York State with rapped-out messages from the dead; and, though the daughters later confessed to cracking their toe-joints, table-rapping spread like wildfire through the eastern states. A few years later the first "spirit medium," D. D. Home, left America to tour half the world.

And again, it is not difficult to see that the background to this was the tremendous growth of industrialism and all its consequences, in which the depression of 1837 had left its mark. Jack London was to find "the congested labour centres of the eastern states, where men were small potatoes and hunted the job for all they were worth . . . I saw the workers in the shambles at the bottom of the Social Pit." There is hardly a difference between Spiritualism in its origins and the hopeful, near-hysterical revival movements which fed upon the degradation of the nineteenth-century working class.

Several of the early Spiritualist leaders were clergymen: the Reverend Moses, for example, who had a large part in founding various Spiritualist bodies. It is not surprising, when one thinks of the miracles and apparitions to which orthodox Christianity commits them. Indeed, spirits are part of almost every religion in the world. Even the Catholic Church, which condemns Spiritualism, does so only on the ground that the Spiritualists' spirits come from the Devil; within Catholicism there is belief in visions, miracles, poltergeists and every kind of long-leggity beastly.

The Society for Physical Research was founded in 1882. Some of the early Spiritualists left or would have nothing to do with it, disapproving of any proposal to



"Please don't damp my spirits"

investigate their claims. The only real question for the Society, however, was the degree of supernatural activity, and by 1913 it was made up of people who shared beliefs in telepathy and, in the words of Hill's book, "the existence and agency of disembodied minds." The voluminous *Proceedings* of the S.P.R. read, as Fitzgerald remarked in the SOCIALIST STANDARD in the nineteen-twenties, "like the minutes of a gathering of intoxicated persons," and to think of them as scientific enquiries is ludicrous; D. H. Rawcliffe, in *The Psychology of the Occult*, comments scathingly on the Society's methods of investigation.

The history of Spiritualism is, in fact, a pitiful chronicle of frauds and gullibility (at the time of writing, a Sunday paper is featuring yet another medium's "revelations"). The biographer of Houdini, the great illusionist, relates how he was continually sought after by Spiritualists and embittered by the attempt to trick him cheaply at a séance arranged by Conan Doyle. It is easy to discredit Spiritualism and easier still to make fun of it; really, it is not funny at all. For every fraud, charlatan or ectoplasm-pedlar there has to be a lonely, unhappy or even deranged person. The once-eminent scientist who thought he walked arm-in-arm with a spirit named Katie, and the aged Blatchford listening to his dead wife, are sad figures.

Most Spiritualist meetings are not hauntings, however. They consist usually of hymns and an address, followed by "clairvoyance" by a medium who professes to see and

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

MAY



1958

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phones MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

TO BUSMEN—AND OTHERS

BY the time this issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD is in print the Busmen and Railwaymen may have got the pay increases they claimed, or they may be preparing for strike action. In either event we wish them well, as we always do when workers take realistic action to get something more out of their employers. We say that the action should be realistic; it should be taken after due consideration, by the workers concerned, of the chances of success, for there are occasions when strike action has been a battle lost before it was fought. There is, however, no reason to think that the situation facing the busmen and railwaymen at the present time is such an occasion. The controlling body of both sections of the nationalised transport industry say they can't pay more and won't pay more, and that strikes will only drive more people permanently away from using trains and buses, but it looks, to an outside view, better to test the situation now than to defer it, even though no doubt the growth of unemployment in recent months has already made the situation rather less favourable than it was.

In the matter of wage increases the Busmen have fared particularly badly in the past 20 years. The London drivers' rate of 90s. in 1938 was relatively high among industrial workers' wage rates, but the present 193s. 6d. a week (or 202s., if we include the offer of 8s. 6d.), represents a very large fall in standard of living. It would require another 40s. a week to keep the drivers' pay in line with a rise of the cost of living to not far short of three times its pre-war level.

This fall in the Busmen's standard of living is not something that started with the Tories; it was happening during the war, and the six years of Labour rule that followed.

Railwaymen, at least the lower grades, have had their pay increased since 1938 proportionately more than Busmen, but that is not saying much. They started at a

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lower level and all that can be said is that they, or some of them, are a little further away from the subsistence level.

As Socialists we have something more to say to our fellow workers who make wage claims than merely to wish them well; we ask them to look beyond strikes over wages, and by that we do not mean that we advise them to look to Nationalisation or Labour Government to help them. The Transport industry is already nationalised, without that change having done anything for Busmen and Railwaymen. Remember, too, that the Government policy of "wage restraint"—persuading you not to press for higher wages when conditions are more or less favourable—was in full force under the Attlee Labour Government and will be continued by any future Labour government.

What we ask you to do, in your own interest, is to consider the case for Socialism. If you do you will discover things that may surprise you. You will find out how Socialism will spare you the necessity of striking over wages; for Socialism involves the abolition of the wages system in its entirety. It also involves the abolition of capitalism with its continuing poverty, slumps and wars. Socialism should be your concern as well as ours.

Executive Committee.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS—continued from page 72

Conference Rally. A highly successful rally took place at Conway Hall on Sunday evening. With Comrade Grant in the Chair, Darcy and Wilmott gave addresses to an interested and appreciative audience on the subject "Annihilation or Socialism?" Comrade Wilmott's address is reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

May Day Meetings are being held in London, Glasgow, Nottingham, and elsewhere in the Provinces. Details of some of the meetings are in this issue. In London there is a special May Sales Drive and Comrades are urged to contact their Branch Secretaries or the Literature Sales Committee at Head Office for full details.

Briefer News Briefs. Wood Green and Hornsey Branch are now meeting on Fridays instead of Thursdays. It is hoped that it will now be possible to exchange visits with neighbouring branches to mutual advantage. Comrade Walsh of Coventry reports that at an "Anti-H Bomb Meeting" he was able to dispose of two dozen copies of the STANDARD. A number of Labour M.P.'s attended the meeting and although there was no opportunity for discussion during the meeting, he was able to have a few words with members of the audience when selling the STANDARD.

Postscript to Conference. The Social arrangements this year were very well organised, the "get-together" at Head Office on Friday was a happy one and prepared comrades for an exceptionally jolly dance at Conway Hall on Easter Saturday—160 tickets were sold. It was one of the happiest dances for some years and the expenses were more than covered. The fact that the balance, together with the good collections during the Conference helped the general expenditure, added to the pleasure of all concerned.

P.H.

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THE SAD RELIGION—continued from page 73

pass messages from dead people. "I am talking to an airman who was killed in the war; is there anybody here? There is. He says his name is—is it John? James? His name is James, he says. He has a message for his sister. A lady, at any rate. He says he saw you not long before he died in a place where there were some trees. Do you understand that? You do. He wants to tell you everything will be all right . . ." and so on. It is often done with considerable skill in observation and deduction, and it is not surprising that some people are strongly impressed.

The more spectacular spirit manifestations are brought forth at séances: ectoplasm, rappings, trumpet-blowing, levitation and apparitions. Not uncommonly, too, Spiritualists have individual encounters with the spirits. If it all sounds ridiculous, it is not much more so than some of the Catholic visions and the Anglican taboos; and the high-water mark for Methodists and many hot-gospel addicts is the religious "experience"—a blinding flash of revelation which takes all kinds of forms.

Why, one wonders, are they not all prosecuted and locked up under the Witchcraft Act? That has occasionally happened to over-ambitious mediums (more often, however, they have been brought to court for bilking wealthy clients at the spirits' instigation). For one thing, as has been said, the Spiritualist cult does not hold anything which is foreign to Christian beliefs. Its basis is a simple belief in God, and it holds a strong line of respectable Christian morality.

Indeed, Spiritualism always holds an element of hopefulness for the Christian churches. If it were true, if the spirit-world could be incontrovertibly proved, the effect would be a field-day for Christianity generally. Thus, though some churchmen (Dean Inge was one) pooh-pooh Spiritualism, more keep "an open mind"—i.e., hope for something useful to come out of it. Dr. Winnington Ingram, the late Bishop of London, believed that people would be "exactly the same five minutes after death as five minutes before" and would "still take great interest in the world we have left" (Sermon at St. Lawrence, Jewry, quoted in Hill's *Spiritualism*).

It is worth mentioning, in this connection, that the "extra-sensory perception" experiments of recent years are only new attempts to prove the unprovable basic fallacy

of Spiritualism: that the mind is a thing in itself. The Churches have watched just as hopefully, for the same reasons. It is a curious proof, in fact, of the materialist case—that mind and consciousness are effects of material causes—which the bishops hope somehow to see disproved by the roll of a dice.

It is often argued that if Spiritualism provides comfort and solace to people who might not otherwise find them, there can be not much harm and possibly a lot of good in it. Rawcliffe, who attacks every form of spirit belief in *The Psychology of the Occult*, says this. "Religious spiritualism, for many, transforms the facts of death and suffering into something which does not hurt quite so much. It often helps the individual to adjust himself to the problems of life, compensates for frustrations, and provides a seemingly logical justification to existence."

Put like that, the social rôle of Spiritualism sounds unobjectionable and even praiseworthy; but, of course, it isn't that at all. The same might be said of the great religious movements of the last century, from Wesley's onwards. Stimulating hope in the after-life, they provided a shield against existence for millions to whom existence was hell—and thereby made them submissive and unquestioning to the miseries they should have fought. The real question is not how to make up for suffering and frustration, but whether most of the suffering need exist at all.

The coercion of Spiritualism is as great as that of any other religious form: the conception of a "great cloud of witnesses" watching the believer is, as Hill (himself a member of the S.P.R.) puts it, "a moral lever of immense power." Though there is no laid-down body of doctrine and instruction as to personal and social conduct, the implications are clear enough. The effect, after all, is the important thing. People with their eyes fixed upon the next world are not likely to concern themselves too much about this one.

All the world's religions serve the interests of their respective ruling classes—the cult of spirits in Japan as well as Christianity in the western world. In its smaller way, Spiritualism contributes to the same end: the making of a submissive working class. Perhaps more than any other, however, its existence and nature point to the need not to accept, but to end as speedily as possible the conditions from which unhappiness and suffering grow. Only a sad, sad world could produce such a sad religion.

ROBERT COSTER.

ALDERMASTON (EASTER 1958)

Text of leaflet distributed to demonstrators on the march

THIS Demonstration is evidence of the strong feeling throughout the country. We share your revulsion that the threat of nuclear weapons has aroused against the Hydrogen Bomb and are fully aware of its devastating consequences. But we disagree with the manner of your protest, which we hold is basically unsound and can only prove ineffective.

Mere emotion, however passionately directed against the horror of war, does not prevent war. Effective protest and action demands both an understanding of the cause of war and a practical idea of how war can be prevented.

The cause of war today is the capitalist organisation of society, a society based on the private ownership of the means of life and on production of goods and services

to make a profit. Capitalism creates ruling groups who constantly struggle with each other for control of the wealth of the world. Governments represent the interest of these ruling groups. Their conflicts are economic ones: the competition for markets, the race for sources of raw material, the mastery of strategic positions.

Russia, with its state-controlled capitalism, is no less involved in this sordid business than are the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Governments cannot be moved to disarm by appeals to their humanity. History shows to the contrary that governments always prepare for war, that the horrific consequences of war do not minimise the likelihood of war, and that "agreements" between governments are no guarantee of peace.

Effective protest against nuclear weapons demands protest against the whole monstrosity of war.

The abolition of war can only be effected by the reorganisation of human society.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain in its pamphlet on war states: "War can solve no working class problem. It cuts across the fundamental identity of interest of the workers of the world, setting sections of this class at enmity with each other in the interests of sections of the capitalist class.

"War elevates force into the position of arbiter in place of the common human desire for mutual peace and happiness. Its effect is wholly evil. It depraves all the participants by forcing them to concentrate upon the best methods of producing misery and of annihilating each other.

"War elevates lying, cheating, disabling and murdering opponents into virtues, confers distinctions upon those who practise these means most successfully.

THE CAPITALIST—

Reproduction of a Leaflet Issued by the Socialist Party of Canada

THE capitalist is another of those misunderstood people. He is often portrayed in something less than glowing terms. Not that his clothing is shoddy. Usually it is shown to be carefully tailored and made of costly materials. But he is offered to us as a smirking pear-shaped specimen, lips folded over a fat cigar, whose weight is mainly encompassed by his belt. Sometimes he appears as a banker, a big, bad banker, who has corralled all the money and won't let the rest of us have any except at impossible rates of interest. Sometimes he turns up as a munitions maker who plots to keep the world at war so that he may sell his guns and tanks and other wares and keep the profits flowing in. Then again, he may be a landlord whose girth is gained from high rents on slum dwellings inhabited by poor people.

He may be found in any of these categories, or he may be found in any of a number of other categories equally distasteful. Indignant people are the ones who portray him in these terms, people who believe that more of the good things of life could come to those in need if more money or cheaper money were made available, or that wars could be reduced in number or intensity if profits were removed from the sale of arms, or that better or cheaper housing would be possible if curbs were placed on his bad habits; indignant people, rebellious people, people who see wrongs in society that must be righted and who see in the capitalist the source of so many of these wrongs.

Then there are other people who portray the capitalist differently. They see in him a public benefactor, a philanthropist, a captain of industry, a financial genius, an all round fine fellow. Press reporters and politicians often tell of his benefactions and sterling qualities. Preachers and elderly ladies dote on his philanthropies. Educators discourse on his industrial and financial greatness. In the eyes of these good people he brings grace, goodness and distinction to a society which with all its faults already scintillates with fine features.

The way people look upon society has much to do

"Young men and women, in their most impressionable years, have the vile methods of warfare impressed upon them so thoroughly that they lose a balanced outlook on life and are impregnated with the idea that force, with all its baseness, and not reason, is the final solution in all problems.

"Socialism is completely opposed to war and to what war represents. At the same time it is the only solution to the conditions that breed war. It is a new form of society in which the people of the world will work harmoniously together for their mutual benefit, for there will be neither privilege nor property to cause enmity.

"No coercion will be needed in Socialism because each will gain from co-operating harmoniously with his fellows. But it is a new social system that demands understanding of its implications from those who seek to establish it.

"With the establishment of Socialism war will disappear and humanity will have taken the first step out of the jungle."

with the way they look upon the capitalist. Those who see evils about them tend to place these evils at his door. Those who observe instead blessings in modern life tend to credit him with these blessings. He is truly the object of much attention.

And most of it is undeserved. It is unquestionably true that he picks up a dollar here and there through colourful banking operations, the sale of guns, the renting of rat traps and other indiscreet activities. And it is equally true that his industries provide jobs for people, that he contributes generously to churches and charities, that he gives his support to all kinds of groups engaged in social uplifting and public improvement, activities widely conceded to be of worth. But he is really not much different from the rest of us. There may not be patches on his breeches or holes in his socks, or calluses where ours are. He may have better clothing, a finer home, a more attractive bank balance. But he could walk along the road with any of us, and who could determine which one owned the alarm clock?

The thing that makes him a capitalist is not the thing that makes him good or bad in people's eyes. Most people don't even give a thought to the thing that makes him a capitalist. They content themselves with some particular feature of his activities and judge him accordingly. He is a wicked banker, a blood-stained munitions maker, a thieving landlord. Or else he is the embodiment of many virtues.

The most important thing to note about the capitalist is that he is a member of an economic category. He belongs to a class in society—the capitalist class. As such he shares with his fellow capitalists in the ownership of the mills, mines, factories, in fact, all the means that exist in society for producing and distributing the food, clothing, shelter and other things needed for the preservation and enjoyment of human life. He and his kind own all these things; the rest of society own nothing of importance. It is this fact of ownership that determines in the long run what he thinks and does and how he lives and

how the rest of us live.

Consider the position of the capitalist and his factory. Into the factory go raw materials and workers and out of it come products that are sold in the market places to bring him a profit. The profit does not originate in the market places. People who manipulate wealth in market places do not in that way create profit; they simply shuffle it around in such a way that some capitalists benefit at the expense of others. The profit is created by the workers in the factory. It exists in that portion of the wealth which the workers produce in excess of their own wages. Not all of it is profit, but there is no profit to be found elsewhere. To increase the amount of his profit the capitalist must improve the methods of production, or he must induce the workers to work longer hours or at greater speed or to accept lower wages. And unless he is prepared to sweat in the factory beside the workers, a thought that is usually repellant to him, there is not much else he can personally do about the profit, except spend it. This he does with all the assurance of one who is entitled to it.

THE ELECTION IN CANADA

Since the article *Politics in Canada* appeared in these columns (SOCIALIST STANDARD, March and April), an election has been held in Canada. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Progressive-Conservative Party, the decimation of the Liberal Party and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and the complete destruction of the federal Social Credit group. The figures are as follows, the previous representation being shown at the right:—

	Elected March 31, 1958	Elected June 10, 1957
Prog.-Con.	209	112
Liberal ...	48	104
C.C.F. ...	8	25
Social Credit	0	19
Others ...	0	5
Total number of seats	265	265

The victory of the Progressive-Conservatives has been widely attributed by the daily press and opposition candidates, including members of the C.C.F., to the personal magnetism and popularity of the Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker, coupled with his trojan efforts to secure the downfall of the Liberal Party. Whatever personal attributes were helpful to Mr. Diefenbaker in bringing about this end, it is certain that he was given an able assistance by his political opponents and the colossal political ignorance of the working class.

The programmes of the contending parties were never more bare of distinguishing features. Mr. Pearson, who shortly before the election succeeded Mr. St. Laurent as Liberal leader, attempted to capitalize on his selection as a "Nobel Peace Prize" winner by assuring everyone that he could make a greater contribution to world peace than any of his opponents. Mr. Coldwell, the C.C.F. leader, made occasional vague and timid references to "a programme of social and economic planning through public

The capitalist is a parasite. He lives without working. He lives on the results of other men's toil and he is able to do this because he owns the means of production and distribution, a condition that is neither necessary nor desirable, but is allowed to continue because people have not yet seen in it the source of most of the harm in modern society. For even those who rise indignantly to condemn the capitalists, in most cases condemn only the wicked ones.

To replace wicked capitalists with worthy ones will not end the exploitation of labour. The workers will continue to live in need, in insecurity, in fear of the future, no matter what may be the quality of those who occupy the high places. What is wrong in society is not the wickedness of the capitalists, but the wickedness of the capitalist system; and until this system is replaced by one in which there are no capitalists, society can have no hope for a better life.

It is not proposed here to imprison or exterminate the capitalist; it is proposed simply to put him in overalls and make him a useful member of the community.

agencies, democratically controlled through Parliament." Mr. Low, the Social Credit leader, revived at times the old mysterious references to the miraculous governmental power to create purchasing power. Mr. Buck, the Labour-Progressive Party leader, was most anxious that Canada trade with China. In other respects the programmes of the contending parties were almost interchangeable.

Mr. Diefenbaker, of course, having spent nine months in office preparing for the election by introducing legislation having popular appeal, then by asking for support to "fully implement" his programme, was in the driver's seat and there was never a doubt about which party would win.

Unemployment was an important issue in the campaign and was suitably kicked around by all parties. The number of unemployed in mid-February was officially placed at 555,000. The Liberals blamed it on the Conservatives, the Conservatives blamed it on the Liberals, and the C.C.F. blamed it on both the Liberals and the Conservatives.

None of the candidates attempted to throw light on Socialism. Their contributions to the subject served only to sink it more deeply into the muck and confusion which they never seem to be at a loss to produce when Socialism is discussed. And this does not overlook the fact that there were 169 C.C.F. candidates. The Socialist Party of Canada tried to introduce some clarity by distributing leaflets, but it was not in a position to run candidates.

Casualties of the election included Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Knowles, leader and deputy leader respectively of the parliamentary C.C.F. group. Both were defeated. Mr. Coldwell had been in Parliament continuously since 1935, Mr. Knowles since 1945. Their sterling accomplishments on behalf of the workers were fittingly recognized in the many expressions of regret from *capitalist sources* over their defeat, an example being the following extract from an editorial in the *Winnipeg Free Press* of April 1st (a Liberal newspaper):—

"Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Knowles were a strength and an adornment to any democratic Parliament. Their defeats are personal tragedies that Liberals will regret almost as much as their own supporters do. With these men gone, the C.C.F. will not be merely a numerical fraction of its former self; it will be the insubstantial shadow."

The Labour-Progressive Party (the Communist Party) ran 17 candidates. In all cases they ran in constituencies where there were C.C.F. candidates. All were defeated and lost their deposits. This is the party which some 40 years ago called on the revolutionaries of the world to

throw away their books, the time for action had come!

When the campaign was ended Mr. Pearson congratulated Mr. Diefenbaker on his victory. Mr. Diefenbaker said: "I sincerely believe we shall be able now to turn back the tide of unemployment. This is the first task before us." Then Mr. Pearson went to Florida on a holiday and Mr. Diefenbaker went to Bermuda on a holiday. The workers went back to work—all except the 555,000, and they were not on a holiday.

J. M.

(Socialist Party of Canada).

A LETTER FROM AUSTRIA

Dear Comrades,

In the name of Austrian comrades I am sending fraternal greetings and best wishes to the comrades assembled at your Annual Conference. May I ask delegates to convey our greetings to all the other comrades unable to attend, but with you, as we are, in thought and purpose.

A series of articles written last year described the conditions prevailing in Austria in what is euphemistically called a Welfare State. Reviewing these articles, the writer noticed that the case was much understated. Indeed, conditions have grown worse since then. The number of unemployed has doubled. In the politicians' embarrassment the word recession (which is not German and not generally understood) is now being used instead of the straight-out term of economic slump.

To the old depressed areas others have been added. The great drop in world market prices of ore has seriously affected the Tyrolean and Carinthian mining industries, where "thousands of families live in insecurity," said the "socialist" Vice-Chancellor, who visited the suffering areas upon urgent calls for Government relief. "If we succeed in Central Europe," he said, "in avoiding an acute crisis, 1958 will not be worse than previous years; it is all a question of taking steps in good time to counter an economic crisis." There is now talk of "underdeveloped areas" in Austria (so far, such were said to exist only in backward overseas continents). "We must create jobs on the spot instead of forcing the breadwinners to go and seek work away from their homes and families," added the spokesman of the so-called socialist party.

Housing and Crime

Housing conditions here are as bad as ever; the papers report brutal cases of evictions, although the Government appealed for leniency in carrying out evictions in the winter months—to avoid "undue hardships." There are such cases as the recent eviction of 15 unmarried mothers with 24 babies being forcibly removed from the miserable enough abode they had been occupying. With people learning from UNO—reports that of the world's 900 million children, 600 million are undernourished and ill, not much notice is taken of local "minor public scandals" of all kinds, including the fate of the children and the thousands of jobless youngsters.

Gangsterism, housebreaking, shop raiding, larceny, and especially juvenile criminality, has also greatly increased. Coupled with a fresh series of shocking murders and assaults, the danger of attack in the streets has

become so acute that the reintroduction of the death penalty has again formed the subject of discussions in Press and Parliament. In the Welfare State! Is it a mere accident that at the very same time English judges are reported to be shocked by juvenile crime figures and are at their wits' end to know how to deal with the situation? No, it is no accident, it is the insane system of capitalism operating the world over that produces everywhere the same evils and deprives millions of young people of a decent chance of life.

More difficulties have also arisen in connection with ever-growing demands on the health services. Even tuberculosis, which it was thought had become an almost negligible item on the list of rampant diseases, has now been revealed to cause alarm again, because of the additional funds running into millions needed for the necessarily long treatment.

Labour and Communist Reformists

This situation would seem to account for the length of the new Austrian "Socialist" Party's Programme, which was published recently and is to come up for sanction at a special conference of the Party in May. It fills some ten pages of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and is in itself eloquent evidence of the social evils existing in the country after 60 years of reform activity. All these problems arise, of course, out of capitalism and can be solved by abolishing that horrible system and replacing it by Socialism. That this should be the one object and aim of a party calling itself Socialist, would be a fair and logical conclusion. Not only would respect for ordinary human honesty demand it; it would also be a command of common sense!

But not so with the "Socialist" and "Communist" parties in Austria. Both betray the cause of Socialism by dangling before the eyes of the working class programmes of "reforms" of, and perpetuating capitalism under the name of Socialism. They are thus guilty of gross misrepresentation and distortion of the true Socialist teaching. It has made our Socialist work more difficult and slowed down the progress of the revolutionary movement.

The New "Socialism"

Instead of assisting the workers to the knowledge and the understanding of the implications of Socialism, instead of teaching them that Socialism implies the disappearance of classes and privileges, the end of buying and selling (including, of course, the buying and selling of human labour power—therefore the end of exploitation of man by man), the end of money and of national frontiers; the

Labourites and Communists in Austria have contrived to make the workers look upon the aforementioned implications of Socialism as a Utopia.

Here are a few extracts from this new Programme:—

"Socialism, in its original form, is now, as in the past, the principal idea. The transformation of society and economy into an association of free and individual personalities with equal rights, the abolition of all economic and political dependencies, the removal of educational monopoly, social security remain the aim."

"Just because Socialism is a living idea, it must adapt itself, in forms and methods, to the requirements and changes of the time."

"Socialism is perfect democracy."

"Socialism is friendship, freedom, peace, social justice."

"The danger of war must be countered in various ways, by disarmament and the removal of the differences in riches between West and East."

Dr. Benedikt Kautsky (the son of Karl Kautsky) is responsible for these phrases. If you fail to make any sense of these platitudes, please do not blame the translator; the latter himself could make as little sense out of the German text.

Here are further quotations:—

"The unity of Europe, as well as that of the divided Germany, is a Socialist demand."

"The rights of the people's representatives are to be strengthened."

The "Socialist" mayor of Vienna delivered himself of the following in reference to the new Programme:—

"Let us strive that in our Austrian Lebensraum a just social order, a human order, be created. Therefore, our party demands so loudly to again have a programme for our work in Austria. We have had a programme since 1947. We can say with pride: It has become obsolete, because we have succeeded to carry it out."

In other words: The programme of 1947 was carried out according to the mayor, but there is no "just social order yet and no human order." Did the former programme not stand for a just and human society?

The same individual also spoke of "the great gulf" and said:—

"We see the gulf between technical and social achievement getting bigger and deeper. Man has conquered the air and is about to push forward into space, but the lot of many hundreds of millions of human beings is still starvation and homelessness."

"For the idea of Socialism hundreds of thousands have sacrificed themselves in the consciousness that the life of the workers can be worth living only when the objects of Socialism have been attained."

It goes without saying that price-controls, export, long-term contracts, family allowances, housing, fiscal policy, prison reform, and the rest of the usual capitalist slogans have their place in the new Programme. No enlightened and farseeing capitalist would oppose any part of a programme which is so glaringly in the interest of his class as was Roosevelt's New Deal in the U.S.A. Only such "deals" really prevent capitalism from an early death.

Small wonder then that the Labour and Communist betrayers of Socialism are in the good books of the capitalist class and were found the fit and proper individuals to be entrusted with the management of the capitalist State here in Austria and elsewhere. They have climbed into such positions as State presidents, chancellors, vice-chancellors, prime ministers, ministers, managing directors of nationalized industries; they are on the board of directors of innumerable concerns and companies and the finance institutes, like the National Bank. They have contrived to be elected as city mayors, provincial governors, etc.,

etc., with incomes that bear no relation to that of the average citizen.

One particularly successful and prominent representative of the so-called "Socialist Party" is reported to hold no fewer than 22 jobs in industry (all named in the paper) with an aggregate monthly income estimated at 120,000 Schillings, which—the reporting paper says—is as much as the wages of a tramwayman for eight years!

Though the above example may be exceptional, it is clear that the other more or less prominent functionaries of the party, directors and advisers, of nationalized industries and banks (Dr. Benedikt Kautsky is among those directors) are doing well. You cannot expect these statesmen, professional politicians and job hunters to advocate the overthrow of the system which pays them so well for "services rendered." They can still style themselves Marxist and use, or rather MISUSE, with impunity, Socialist terminology. They ignore any letters addressed to them with copies of Socialist literature.

The utter failure of these statesmen, politicians, party-leaders, churchmen, "scientists," and their reptile press, to solve any problem whatever, has apparently not yet taught the workers the obvious lesson that NO help can be expected from these quarters. Apparently they do not even notice how the constant distinction made by these gentry between "workers" AND "intellectuals" offers a gratuitous insult to the workers by denying them the attribute of intelligence.

This message is already too long, but I should not fail to quote the seven demands of the "Socialist Party of Austria," as printed in fat type on the front page of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. Here they are:—

- (1) and (2) Democratic, political and economic co-operation of the two big parties.
- (3) The S.P.O. strives to improve the purchasing power of wages and pensions by means of a sound economic policy, and supports the efforts of the Trade Unions to secure to the working people the just share of the increasing national income.
- (4) Foster the increase of the national income and investments by loans and other means of credit at the disposal of the State. The public and State controlled enterprises are now the property of the people.
- (5) Despite prosperity and promises made of compensating for persecution and damage suffered during and after the war, nothing has yet been done. Especially the economically weak should be helped.
- (6) The S.P.O. stands for freedom of religion and for good relations with the Catholic church.
- (7) The S.P.O. demands the unconditional safeguard of the constitutional rights, equality, and the distribution of public jobs by qualification and from strictly objective points of view. Freedom of science and promotion of high school study.

We will try to get a Socialist comment on the new Programme published somehow before May, when the Conference takes place to sanction it.

With hearty greetings.

Fraternally and comradely yours,
R.

on behalf of the other Comrades.

THE COMMUNIST PATRIOTS

"Real patriotism to-day can be found among the millions of workers and middle-class people—the industrial and professional backbone of England."

"To win rising wages is one of the most patriotic things to do because rising living standards benefit the vast majority of our people and, therefore, promote the welfare of the nation."

No! This is not a statement by the "League of Empire Loyalists" or the *Daily Express*. It is quoted from a recent leaflet entitled "Patriotism Ltd.", published by the British Communist Party. It attacks certain Tories and businessmen in Britain for being "anti-British" and unpatriotic.

The leaflet informs us that "... the Tory leaders gave the Americans permission to patrol our skies with loaded H-bombers" (emphasis ours.)

Now all this "Communist" patriotism seems, at first sight, all very peculiar. For the Communist Party, ever since its inception, has claimed to be a party of the working-class; the party which addresses itself to "the masses." But why talk of patriotism or "our country" or "the national interest" to the working-class? Did not Marx and Engels, the founders of modern Communism, say that the worker is "without property" (*Communist Manifesto*)? And, later in the *Communist Manifesto*, they wrote:—

"The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality"

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got."—(p. 78. *The Communist Manifesto and the Last Hundred Years*, S.P.G.B. ed.)

The *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels was written over a hundred years ago—when the vast mass of the people owned nothing in the means of life: they were "without property." They did not have a country; the skies were not theirs, neither was the land; they could have no "national interest," neither were the workers of 1847 "... working for themselves and their country..." as the recent Communist Party leaflet puts it.

But, of course, things are different today!! Do we not live in a "property-owning democracy," as the Tories put it? Do the workers of 1958 own Britain? Are "they working for themselves and their country" as the Communist Party pretends? Or are our so-called modern Communists, like Tories and Labourites, pulling a fast one? Do the workers work "for themselves" or are they working for their employers, as Marx and Engels claimed in 1847?

According to Lord Beveridge in 1943 "80 per cent. of the private property of the country is owned by seven



per cent of the population." And, more recently, in December, 1955, Prof. W. Arthur Lewis, of Manchester University, admitted that "two-thirds of the private property in this country is owned by less than four per cent. of the population" (*Socialist Commentary*, December, 1955), which leaves virtually nothing for the mass of the population—the working-class.

The fact is that, despite the lies of the Communist Party and others, the workers of today do not own Britain; it is not their country. They are propertyless wage-workers—proletarians in the language of Marx and Engels—working for, and creating a profit for, the people who really do own Britain—the capitalist class. If Marx was alive today he would vomit at the lies and the rubbish that "Communists" publish and put before the workers of this and other countries. He would reiterate what he wrote in 1847—"The working men have no country." And he would not bother himself unduly at the lack of patriotism of British Tories as does the British Communist Party!

PETER E. NEWELL.

SATELLITE SANITY

1957 was the International Geographical Physical Year, usually referred to as the I.G.Y. During this year much work has been done by the scientists of the world to find out more about the Earth.

Our knowledge of the Earth is very limited. We are still unable to penetrate more than a few miles below, and not very far into the space around it. Yet more knowledge of the physical nature of our planet would greatly increase man's power.

It is impossible to get very far in finding out more

about the Earth without encountering problems of its environment.

Paradoxical though it may sound, the best way NOW of getting to know more about the Earth is to find out more about its satellite—the moon. It has long been known, for example, that it is the pull of the moon which produces tides on the Earth.

Despite all the political obstacles, the scientists of the world have apparently worked as a united world-wide team; which was the original idea of an International Year

of Physical Research when put forward by a member of the Austrian Polar Expedition over eighty years ago. Their results will take many years to collate and elaborate. but when this is finally done great strides in scientific knowledge will be made. The experimental despatch of satellites into outer space was only part of this work.

Many newspapers are suspect today because of the reckless haste with which they announce miraculous results on flimsy evidences. In this case, however, they could hardly go far wrong.

Before indicating one or two of the problems which these experiments illuminate, it should be said that the sheer technical achievement itself is momentous, dwarfing such phenomena as the steam engine and electric generator. In our modern age, aspects of knowledge which, in early times, were the private hobby of one or two interested investigators (Newton, Leibnitz, Huygens or Herschel) now spread rapidly.

Many people today, including large numbers of school children, have a very fair idea of the so-called "escape velocity" of the astro-physicist. Briefly, this means that to make an artificial astronomical body circle the Earth ("put it into orbit") it has to be shot from the Earth with more force than the attraction which pulls a body of this mass towards the Earth. Therefore it has got to leave the Earth at a speed (velocity) fast enough to take it out of the Earth's gravitational pull—so that it goes up and then STOPS UP.

Very powerful propellants indeed have to be used to do this. The Russians have probably devised some improvements, but the Germans, before and during the last war, used a mixture of alcohol and liquid oxygen in three stage rockets, two stages of which drop back to Earth. We hazard a guess that today the Russians are using some derivative of Fluorine. With this, they have raised about half a ton roughly 900 miles into space. This really is stupendous.

Man has put a star into the sky. This little star was not "created" by any God, but made by the working class and behaves in the same way, according to Isaac Newton's inverse square law, as the giant stars which, at one time, it was thought only gods could make. It is the beginning of the end of the foundation of religious superstition—astrology.

Should the technical know-how of rocketry equal the rapidity of aviation's development—the production of artificial man-made satellites of greater size and therefore larger orbit, and longer duration is a matter of a comparatively short time. The knowledge gained of metallurgy, chemistry (particularly in the handling of highly volatile propellants) and design is of the greatest value in many fields, Transport, Mining, Engineering, etc.

These aspects might be defined as the Transport Engineer's side of the work, which though practically important, is very small compared with problems which space satellites will eventually help solve.

What does the physicist seek, for example, when the button is pressed? First, satellites explore the Ionosphere. They will collect data on the nature of the particles of matter in outer space—the sign and magnitude of their charges, their mass and weight, etc. It is difficult to under-estimate the potentialities of this work.

Second, they collect information on the cosmic rays, on ultra violet light and light in general. Since the life of the Earth is dependant on sunlight for the growth pro-

cess of plants this can affect food production.

The orbiting of bodies in space can transform the technique of navigation. As is only too well known, a satellite can issue signals, giving locations by means of pre-arranged charts and time-tables.

Satellites will give the "Met. Man," the weather forecaster, an invaluable tool enabling him to pin-point his predictions with more accuracy. They will revolutionise the techniques of communication. With more knowledge of the layers of the atmosphere messages will be relayed simultaneously to the Globe more easily. The geographer, geologist, archaeologist and surveyor will receive new aids in their work.

All this will prepare the launching of a missile at the moon which will photograph and analyse the dust on the moon's surface.

All this cannot go on without exerting a profound iconoclastic influence on people's ideas. Many people, very far removed from Socialism, already appreciate this very clearly.

Thus Mr. F. J. Camm, the well known and popular technical-expert, Editor of the magazine *Practical Mechanics* (and many others) wrote the following editorial in his January number.

"I wonder how many people have realised the full significance of the new satellite era inaugurated by the two launchings.

If it is found, for example, that some of the other planets are inhabited the whole of our scientific concept as well as our religious beliefs must undergo a radical metamorphosis.

This great scientific achievement presages changes in our beliefs, both psychological and metaphysical. ... We have regarded the Earth as the centre of the universe, although it is not a self-contained planet and is dependent on the Sun for its existence ...

The importance of space travel transcends its immediate potential military advantage. It must have great political significance.

Nations may no longer be bounded upon the surface of the Earth. Our Earth may no longer consist of peoples dependent for their existence on imports and exports."

We commend Mr. F. J. Camm's sound and sagacious judgment.

"The importance of space travel transcends its immediate potential military advantage."

This is the long view.

The aeroplane was used to destroy Hamburg, Milan and London; this was not a condemnation of aviation—but abuse of it for capitalist war.

As is so often the case today, Mr. Camm is, perhaps all unwittingly, re-echoing the viewpoint of Marx—that ideas are changed by changing material conditions.

"Society with the windmill brought the feudal landlord, society with the steam engine the industrial capitalist."

Society with the rocket motor and the atomic reactor will be international Socialist society.

In the *Communist Manifesto* a vivid description is given of the effect of the railways on the marshalling, organising and welding of the working class in hundreds of thousands in different countries. Astronomical transport will organise the working class in hundreds of millions throughout the world. National boundaries will be tech-

nically obsolete and socially ludicrous.

The tragedy is that the great scientific achievement of the working class is (as always) abused and exploited by scheming statesmen and governments on behalf of the ruling class. Its very magnitude makes it the target for their attention, to transform all its potential benefits into horrors of slaughter. The rocket which can lift many hundredweights of scientific instruments can be fitted with a warhead, and directed by the ballistic expert at "the enemy." Capitalism remains an antagonistic system, trying to build and destroy at the same time.

If it was true in 1847 that "the need for an expanding market chased the capitalist all over the globe," in 1957 it chased him to the moon.

Scientific research is used in pursuit of profit. No Socialist can possibly ignore the frightful dangers which all technical progress places in the hands of a few maniacs called the Imperial General Staff, of the various capitalist groups.

This also applied to the Dreadnought, the aeroplane, poison gas and bacteriology.

Those who rush forward to denounce the scientist should first find the beam in their own eye. Numerous scientists from Louis Pasteur and Marie Curie, to Linus Pauling and Albert Schweitzer in our day, have denounced this calumny, and expressed their indignation that their

work should be so abused.

The satellites, for the Socialist, though a warning of danger, are also a Star of Hope.

"Madam. What is the use of a new born baby," said Michael Faraday, when a titled lady asked "But what is the use of an electric motor?"

Therefore, though we can well appreciate the feelings of those who find man's first steps to escape this Planet so frightening that they would fain condemn the research itself, Socialists are not despondent.

"Some parties may wail over it, others may wish to get rid of modern arts, in order to get rid of modern conflicts.

We know that to work well the new fangled forces of society only want to be mastered by new-fangled men—and such are the working-men."

"In the signs that bewilder the middle class, the aristocracy and the poor prophets of regression we recognise the Revolution."

(Marx's speech in April, 1856, in London at anniversary of "People's Paper.")

Perhaps the capitalists could destroy civilisation. They must be forestalled by the working class. All the means of production (including satellites) must be made common property.

HORATIO.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

May Day

To all whose hearts beat true to the cause of oppressed humanity—English, German, Dutchmen or Jew: black, white, yellow or red; without distinction of race or sex—fraternal greeting!

To all who suffer the torments of capitalist oppres-

sion, who hunger and thirst amidst mocking plethora, who are weary of today and apprehensive of tomorrow . . . fraternal sympathy and, this May Day message: Hope!

The hope of the workers lies in their Socialist knowledge. This only can strike the shackles off their limbs and take them up out of the capitalist house of bondage. This only can remove the barriers of national conceit and race enmity so strong for the upholding of this capitalist house of bondage.

(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, May, 1908.)

BOOK REVIEW—FALL-OUT

THIS book, written by nine working scientists (published by Macgibbon and Kee), is a startling one; some may even think frightening.

It deals with the effects of radioactive fall-out from A and H bombs, in particular, with Strontium 90 and Caesium 137, both of which are extremely long-lasting radioactive substances and were not present on this planet before the nuclear bomb tests. They are both man produced.

These back-room boffins cover virtually every angle of this subject; radioactive substances in soil, water, vegetation, milk, bones, and the vital organs in connection with both man and other forms of life. A whole chapter is devoted to the genetic effects of radiation.

The fact that there is a causal link between radioactive substances and cancer; particularly bone-cancer and leukemia (blood cancer) is well covered in Chapter 6.

Nuclear bombs are obviously lethal, but the authors also list X-rays, X-ray photographs, atomic plant and luminous painted watches, etc., as dangerous; from the point of view in some instances of the cumulative effects.

Dealing with radiation and its effect on humans, they

state (page 90): "It is already certain that there is no such thing as a dose of radiation that is too small to cause damage to future generations of children. That there may also be no such thing as a dose too small to cause cancer in the present generation is now a distinct possibility." Quoting from the *Lancet* on page 108, the authors find, "The only safe assumption is that the damage produced is proportional to the radiation received, and that there is no threshold dose." Finally, on page 142 they come to the conclusion that "there is really no such thing as a permissible upper limit; under present-day conditions the wisest upper limit of radiation is 0."

If the authors of this book are correct with regard to the cumulative effects of radioactive material, it must be obvious that, the minutest amount being dangerous, to increase it must be more so. If the conclusions are correct, then the statement on page 150 is quite apt. "However stupendous the physical or political power that nuclear engineering may offer us, it is of no value if people cannot live alongside of it at all and it is not of very much value if it is so dangerous that life with it is only possible for people encased in sheet lead."

The authors quite rightly point out that "It is quite illogical for the voter in a democracy to blame the scientist because he produces H bombs rather than more food or a cure for the common cold or cancer. The scientist, like anyone else who is earning his living, does the best he can to choose a tolerable job among those offered" (page 154). We can go a step further than this and state categorically that the workers of this world have only themselves to blame. They are so busy grappling with the shadows, that they appear to have no time for the substance. It is true that the Capitalist class is more than interested in keeping them that way; but after all, it is the working class who run this world from top to bottom, and if they want it to run in their interests, it is up to them to get down to the socially conscious business of taking over this earth and making it the common possession of all mankind—that is to say, get to grips with the substance.

In passing, the authors point out, on page 132, "that if the people and money now devoted to research on weapons were devoted to research on agriculture, and if the money now spent on making nuclear weapons were spent on organising agriculture, the amount of extra food produced would be enough for many generations at the present rate of population growth."

All of which is very nice, and is another smack at the Malthusians, Neo or otherwise. But, of course, in actual fact, if such an influx of capital were possible into the field of agriculture (apart from the fact that the exigencies of capitalism do not allow for such vagaries) the resultant glut of agricultural produce and its concomitant dislocation of world markets would be of such an order that a crisis of world-wide dimensions would be precipitated before you could say "Jack Robinson"; leaving such a trail of unemployment and misery, that H bomb production would seem preferable. The point is, of course, that only a Socialist society, a world untrammelled by the profit motive, could produce such wealth and in sufficient quantities to satisfy all peoples' needs. And in the meantime, whether all life perishes on this planet because of radiation hazards, or the millenium is ushered in, depends on the working class, for only they are capable of bringing about a new social order.

JOHN KEYS.

AN OLD STORY

ONE of our modern poets once wrote that April (for some reason) is the cruellest month. It is usually the month when we hold our Annual Conference, to review and discuss the work which we've done in spreading the word of Socialism over the past year. Nothing cruel about that; but sometimes our financial statement has some unkind things to say. In 1957, for example, we spent about £250 more than we received—our literature alone lost us roughly £600. These expenses are offset by our dues, our collections and donations. Donations; that is where you come in. It's an old story, but one which we must keep telling. Again, we ask you to dub up to help the work for Socialism, so that the meetings and canvassing and all the other necessary work can go on without us having to look at every penny. Anything you can spare will be welcome—send or give it to the Treasurer, at our Head Office. Thank you.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

THURSDAY EVENINGS at 8 p.m.

at
34, ST. GEORGE'S SQUARE, S.W.1.
(Wilcox, top flat)

May 15th "Murderers' Home"

A recording of eighteen Negro work songs, made in 1947 by Alan Lomax in the Mississippi State Penitentiary, followed by an informal discussion.

MAY SALES DRIVE

All members urged to assist. Contact Branch Secretaries or Central Literature Sales Committee at Head Office.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA AND PADDINGTON BRANCHES

MAY DAY MEETING

at
EARLS COURT GARDENS
(opposite Earls Court Station)
THURSDAY, May 1st, at 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:—E. GRANT, J. KEYS, F. WALTERS, C. MAY.
Questions Invited. All Welcome.

MAY DAY MEETINGS AT GLASGOW

on
SUNDAY, MAY 4th, at 2.30 p.m.

at
QUEEN'S PARK RECREATION GROUND
Speakers: A. SHAW and J. D'ARCY
ST. ANDREWS (Mid) HALL

at 7 p.m.
Speakers: J. D'ARCY, J. HIGGINS, J. RICHMOND
Chairman: R. VALLAR

MAY DAY MEETING AT NOTTINGHAM

on
SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 4th
at 3 p.m.
SLAB SQUARE, NOTTINGHAM

MAY DAY RALLY

at
HYDE PARK
on
SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 4th, at 3 p.m.
Speakers: R. AMBRIDGE, F. JAMES
C. MAY, H. YOUNG

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTEMHAM.—Secretary, Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breakey, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. 'Phone: D1Dsbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Will members and sympathisers interested in the formation of a group please contact T. Lord, 288, Church Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MA1 5163.

REDHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate, Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellon Rd., Pencoolgi, Nr. Llanelly.

ISLINGTON BRANCH

CO-OP HALL, 129, SEVEN SISTERS ROAD, N.7
(Nr. Finsbury Park Tube)

"RUSSIA"

Speaker: V. MATVEYEV

(London Correspondent of "Izvestia")

THURS., MAY 8th, at 7.30 p.m.

Questions

Discussion

PUBLICATION DATE OF
"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

PAMPHLETS

Questions of the Day	1/- (Post free 1/2)
The Socialist Party and War	1/- (" " 1/2)
Russia Since 1917	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Communist Manifesto and the Last Hundred Years	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Racial Problem—A Socialist Analysis	1/- (" " 1/2)
Socialism	4d. (" " 6d.)
Socialism or Federal Union ?	4d. (" " 6d.)
The Socialist Party: Its Principles and Policy	4d. (" " 6d.)
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism ?	4d. (" " 6d.)
Nationalisation or Socialism ?	6d. (" " 8d.)
Socialist Comment	6d. (" " 8d.)

All obtainable from the Literature Committee,
52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY.—Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (May 1st and 15th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., at 7.30 p.m.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Thursdays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

BALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Baling (nr. Baling Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles. Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 34, St. George's Square, (Wilcox, top flat) S.W.1. All correspondence to Secretary, c/o. H. O., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrock, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (May 7th and 21st) at 8 p.m., The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (May 5th and 19th) at 8 p.m., at Partick Burgh Hall, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivinney, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m., May 7th and 21st, 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o. Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7411.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 17, Coiswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. Enquiries to Sec. J. G. Gisleley, at that address.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbath, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WICKFORD meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m., "Skara Brae" Farm Crescent, Woodham Road, Battlesbridge, Essex. Enquiries to Secretary, L. R. Plummer.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Interwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 'Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at 118, Pelham Road, Wood Green, N. 22.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

MAY DAY MEETING

SUNDAY, 4th MAY at 7 p.m. at

DENISON HOUSE,
296 VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD
(Near Victoria Station)

"The Class Struggle and May Day"

Speakers - L. BRYAN & E. WILMOTT

Admission Free

Questions and Discussion

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

No. 646 Vol. 54 June, 1958

Cyprus—A Mediterranean Hotspot

CYPRUS IS THE HEALTHIEST PLACE IN THE WORLD—for anyone except a policeman. It exports false teeth and fine lace and the seeds from which many an English gardener raises his cauliflowers. It is an island in a state of confused emergency, where the Greeks riot because they want the British occupation to end and the Turks riot because they want it to continue. The British don't intend to leave, anyway. The island has been a trouble spot for centuries; what is the background to the present disturbances?

THE LIBERAL REVIVAL

MAY DAY AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

AN EPITAPH FOR GEORGE DILLON

RECESSION IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TODAY

History and Economy

The history of Cyprus is the history of sea-power in the Eastern Mediterranean; the island has always been occupied by a dominant naval power. In 1571 it became part of the Ottoman Empire and this lasted until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 revived European interest in its strategic position. At the time Russia was penetrating into Asia Minor, and when in 1877 they inflicted a tremendous defeat on the Turks at Adrianople and Armenia, London decided to intervene. (In the music halls they were singing the song which began, "We don't want to fight, but by jingo! if we do. . .") Turkey accepted Russia's terms at San Stefano in 1878; at the same time she signed a "Convention of Defensive Alliance" with Great Britain which agreed to British occupation of Cyprus, in return for an undertaking to fight with Turkey against future Russian expansion. On the outbreak of war in 1914 Britain annexed the island by Order in Council, on the grounds that Turkey was then an enemy country. In 1923 Greece and Turkey signed the Treaty of Lausanne, which recognised British possession of Cyprus as part of the territorial balance in the area.

The first Britishers found Cyprus an impoverished land, with backward agricultural methods and suffering from chronic soil erosion. Forests had been ruthlessly destroyed and there were few useful roads, bridges or harbours. As British occupation became established, capital flowed into the island and reforestation and agricultural development schemes were started. The copper mines (reputed to be the first in the world, but neglected since the Romans left) were reopened. By 1928 the Cypriot population was twice as large as in 1878 and everything was controlled by a police force and legal system similar to the British pattern.

The Cypriot economy remains based on its agriculture, which absorbs over half the working population. Mineral production is of great importance, and there is a little minor industry, producing buttons, hand-made shoes, and the like. Most of the exports go to West Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy, in that order;

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the United Kingdom supply the bulk of the island's imports. The death rate in Cyprus is among the world's lowest—at 6.3 per 1,000, lower than the U.S.A. and Great Britain. Although it was once called one of the most malarious places in the world, Cyprus has not had a single case of the disease since 1949. At the moment there is virtually no unemployment on the island (unless *EOKA* can be said to be out of work!), but this could easily change, for 60 per cent. of the exports are made up of minerals, at prices at the mercy of world trading conditions.

EOKA, the Greeks and the Church

EOKA (the letters stand for the Greek words meaning National Organisation of Cypriot Combatants), emphasises the campaign for *enosis* (union of Cyprus with Greece) by acts of killing and sabotage. At its head is Colonel George Grivas, a romantically 'moustached' character who once led the *KHI*. This undercover royalist movement was held responsible for many murders in the 1946-47 disturbances in Greece.

The *EOKA* guerrilla hide-out in the Troodos mountains, coming down into the towns to kill selected persons, or to toss a bomb (as many as 20 a day have been known recently). The organisation has been active for about three years, killing over 100 and wounding over 350 British people. For the past year or so things have been quieter until the recent bomb incidents. Now *EOKA* are threatening another campaign unless the Cyprus question is settled quickly. General Kendrew, who once captained the England Rugby team and who now commands the British security forces, has promised that if *EOKA* starts up again they will get treatment which will make the Harding régime seem "mild and benevolent" by comparison.

The idea of *enosis* is not new. The first British Governor in 1878 was greeted by the Bishop of Kition with the hope that "... Great Britain will help Cyprus ... to be united with Mother Greece. ..." In 1931 there were violent demonstrations in favour of *enosis*, after which 10 Cypriots, including two bishops, were exiled and the island's Legislative Council suspended. This upset may have been aggravated by the extreme conditions which Cyprus was experiencing in the world slump, but it is difficult to find any similar reason to explain the *enosis* movement to-day. As we have seen, most of the colony's trade is with Europe, and certainly Greece, with her low standard of living, infantile trade union movement and lack of political freedom should offer little to attract a thoughtful Cypriot. If the emigration figures are a guide, few Cypriots are attracted to Greece. 6,441 Cypriots left the island in 1956; 5,233 of these came to the United Kingdom and 730 went to Australia. Between 1952 and 1955 only 15 Cypriots went to Greece. The principal force behind the *enosis* movement stems from the fact that 80 per cent. of Cypriots are of Greek origin and are easily misled into supporting the Greek effort in her age-long struggle with Turkey over the territorial carve-up of Asia Minor. The Cypriot Communists also support *enosis*, even though their counterparts in Greece have been very roughly treated and General Grivas is their fanatical opponent.

The Greek Orthodox Church is a substantial landowner in Cyprus and a powerful supporter of union with Greece. The Church's political influence began with the Turkish occupation, when leaders of the Church were granted the Sultan's commission to collect taxes and to keep an eye on the not always submissive local officers

of the Ottoman Empire. These leaders became associated with the illegal anti-Turkish movement; when the Greek War of Independence broke out in 1821 nine of them were publicly hanged and several more beheaded. The British put an end to the tax gathering, but the Church was unwilling to abandon all its temporal activities; it therefore devoted itself to political affairs and, as tradition foretold, gave support to the *enosis* movement. Now that the movement has gathered its own momentum, the Church dare not drop its support, for fear of losing influence to laymen. Because of their attitude, Archbishop Makarios and the Bishop of Kyrenia were deported to the Seychelles Islands in March of 1956. A year later they were released and allowed to go anywhere except Cyprus.

The Turks

As the Greeks rang their bells to celebrate Makarios' release, and as Lord Salisbury left the British Government in disgust, so Turkish Cypriots sent a protesting telegram to the Prime Minister of Turkey. What are the Turkish interests in Cyprus?

Although Russian penetration may present a greater threat, the Turkish Government must still worry about the long struggle with Greece. It remembers the attack of 1922, when the Greeks almost reached Ankara, but were thrown back upon Smyrna, where Kemal Attaturk massacred them with indescribable bestiality. They cannot forget that Cyprus is only 40 miles from the Turkish mainland and commands the approaches to the important ports of Mersin and Iskenderum. They look on a Greek Cyprus as an intolerable threat.

Yet a Turkish Cyprus is out of the question, for the Turks make up only 18 per cent. of the island's population. So Ankara is in favour of British occupation of Cyprus and supports British power in the Middle East, as a check on Greek ambitions. No Cyprus question, therefore, existed for Turkey, until recently they sensed a change in British policy. Then the Turks began to kick over the traces. Only after protest did they make the "final sacrifice" of accepting the idea of partitioning Cyprus. Now, convinced that London is preparing to betray them, they have started rioting, complete with killings and demonstrating schoolchildren. They have called for the dismissal of the "liberal" governor, Sir Hugh Foot and the return of the "tough" General Harding. There is a Turkish Resistance Movement which has declared itself "on the verge" of starting its (ominous words) "struggle for freedom." The Turks have shown that they can be as violent as the Greeks.

British Interests

In all this confusion of interests, the policy of the British Government remains firm to the point of stagnation. Gone are the days of 1915, when the Greeks were offered Cyprus in exchange for support of Serbia against Bulgaria (Athens declined). Every proposal made by the British Government in recent years, including those of the Radcliffe enquiry in late 1956, have clearly presupposed the continuation of British occupation of Cyprus.

Why is Whitehall so adamant? The 1956 Colonial Office report on Cyprus stated that "... Her Majesty's Government formally recognised the principle of self-determination, but considered its application not to be a practical proposition at the present time on account of the existing situation in the Eastern Mediterranean." That is the clue to it. Great Britain was once the dominant power

of the Middle East. Now, with the oil discoveries throwing up nationalist Governments, British influence has been squeezed out of one country after another. Apart from her own interest in the oilfields, Britain has a number of strategic obligations to protect the sheikdoms on the Persian Gulf against attack by their neighbours (the most powerful of these is the American-influenced Saudi Arabia). Cyprus, the one remaining toehold in the area, is vital to this conception of British interests, as a convenient springboard from which the Persian Gulf can be reinforced.

Great Britain also has commitments to the Bagdad Pact, which joins Pakistan, Persia, Iraq and Turkey in a defensive alliance with the classical aim of preventing Russian penetration of the Middle East. Cyprus—1½ hours' flying time from Bagdad—is important to British participation in the pact. So the British stay in Cyprus

and, for fear of being voted out of the island, will not allow the Cypriots to express their preference on *enosis*. To put the matter into sharper perspective we should remember that the bloodshed in Cyprus is small beer compared to that in, say, Algeria. And Greece is not the only small country with imperialist designs; the Yemen, Spain, Guatemala and Mexico are others.

Tragedy

There are people (they often call themselves Socialists) who like to think that the Cyprus struggle is a special sort of regrettable tragedy. They thought the same about Kenya and Malaya, and before that of Ireland. The ignorance and don't care attitude, which never tries to find out the reason for these problems—that is the real tragedy, in Cyprus and England and over all the world.

IVAN.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TODAY

According to the survey of social life and activities made in Derby by T. Cauter and J. S. Downham (*The Communication of Ideas*, 1954), about three million people in Britain are nominally members of the Church of England. Nearly as many are Roman Catholics, and a little under two millions belong on paper to the major free churches—Methodist, Congregationalist, Baptist and Presbyterian. If a million and a half are added for the Welsh and Scottish churches, plus half a million Jews and perhaps another halfmillion for all the sects and queeriosities, you have a total of about ten million people in Britain who claim (or are claimed as having) adherence to religious bodies. That is, one person in four: so that three-fourths of the population belong to no religion at all.

Few people will admit to having no religion, however: in the Derby survey, only 2 per cent. Most people, asked the question, put themselves down as C. of E., even though, to quote Cauter and Downham, "for half or even two-thirds of the people church-going is so occasional an occurrence as to play an almost insignificant part in their daily life." In fact, the membership figures themselves mean very little. Archdeacon Mayfield's *The Church of England* (Oxford, 1958) estimates "just over two millions who as Easter communicants may be reckoned as the hard core of Church membership."

About 65 per cent. of the population are baptized in the Church of England and 26 per cent. are confirmed, usually in adolescence. It is worth remembering that only in relatively recent years has church attendance been entirely voluntary. In the nineteenth century it was common for farm workers and domestics to have to attend church as a condition of employment, and in town and country there were all kinds of economic and social pressures. The nearest thing to formal adult membership today is enrolment in the parish electorate, and these rolls show a steady decline since the first world war.

The Church of England is the "established" church; that is, the State recognizes the laws of the Church and incorporates them into the national laws. Thus, the Sovereign must be a member of the Church of England, and the two archbishops and twenty-four diocesan bishops have privileged places in the House of Lords. The Church

conducts all national religious observances, and is the official religious body in hospitals, prisons and the armed forces; certain academic posts in universities can be held only by Church of England clergy. The State appoints archbishops and bishops, and the measures of the Church Assembly—including the contents of the Prayer Book—must be sanctioned by Parliament.

The Church has two legislative systems. The first, the Convocations of Canterbury and York, is concerned with creed and faith. The other, the Church Assembly, is the central administrative and financial body. In addition, there are the Church Commissioners, whose task is to execute the business side of Church affairs. Their gross income in 1955 was £10,529,490 from investments and property. In recent years it has become their policy to replace gilt-edged investments with investment in commercial and industrial securities, to obtain a greater yield: an analysis of these investments is given in *The Church Commissioners: A Short Review of Their Work* (1955). The income from property in 1955 was £3,339,673, with outgoings of £744,926. The property includes over 1,000 farms and 50,000 buildings and, again, the Commissioners'



aim now is to buy up—to quote Mayfield—"the best type of property investment, both agricultural and urban."

Most of the clergy's stipends are paid by the Church Commissioners, the remainder coming from "Easter offerings," fees for burials, marriages, and so on. Until 1936 tithes were a source of income in about 7,000 parishes, but the Tithe Act of that year took this away and gave instead £70,000,000 of government stock. A parson's minimum stipend today is £550-600 a year, plus a house free of rates and dilapidations. The minimum for a diocesan bishop is £2,500 a year, plus residence, plus such out-of-pocket expenses as secretary, chauffeur, postage, travel and the costs of hospitality. The numbers of the clergy have fallen and are still falling. In 1901, with a population of 32 millions, there were over 22,000 clergymen; today, there are 16,000 of them among 44 millions, and their average age has risen to 50.

The Church of England is a vast organization: what part does it play in the structure of capitalism in Britain? All religions serve the interests of ruling classes, and an established or State church is one which has frankly contracted to do that. The Church of England was the product of the sixteenth-century Reformation, fathered by new and emergent interests which needed a Catholic—i.e., universal—church, but must throw off the incubus of Rome. There was not only the question of the Catholic Church's ownership of land; there was the need for recognition of the new learning as against Papal fundamentalism, and the growing national consciousness on which, again, the claims of Rome were oppressive.

The Reformation, in fact, only developed the idea of establishment which had been implicit in the relations of Church and secular rulers all through feudal times. Even the modern Free Churches are by no means free in this respect, being regulated by trust deeds and special Parliamentary statutes. For the truth is that, even though religion is "the sigh of the hard-pressed creature," without the support of the ruling class religion as we know it would have very little influence in society. And conversely, of course, the ruling class needs the great religions to promulgate and make sacred principles of capitalist ideals.

The major social function of the Church of England is this: to explicitize and lay down the body of morality that is held to govern personal behaviour and social relationships in our world. Thus, the Church's teachings concerning marriage, which have caused much argument in recent years, are simply the doctrine of the ideal monogamous family in property-based society. Indeed, the division of opinion about this within the Church itself reflects clearly the disintegration of that family and the consequent search for a modified morality suited to changed circumstances.

Because the Church holds this position as the apparent arbiter of morality and conduct, the pronouncements of the archbishops and the Convocations do attract attention and carry weight. The effect of an archiepiscopal statement on, for example, the hydrogen bomb, is to lay down a line of "Christian" judgement of the issue; that is, to give moral sanction to what the ruling interest requires. And even the opinions of the small-fry clergy, often as ignorant and foolish as can be, are supported by the prestige of the Church of England (during two world wars, some of the most bloodthirsty incitements to "wipe Ger-

many off the map" came from civilian clergymen).

It is all too easy to close one's eyes and say it doesn't matter because, after all, religion is dying out. Though religious observances have fallen off perceptibly, the Church of England has regrouped its forces in recent years. No longer able to preach the property gospel to enough people in church, it has made its aim to penetrate the various spheres of national life instead. It has, for example, secured a firm foothold in radio and television. The B.B.C.'s *Annual Report and Accounts* for 1951-52 showed 3 per cent. of the total broadcasting time—about eight hours a week—given to religious matter, and estimated that "about one-third of the total adult population heard at least one religious broadcast" on Sundays. Cauter and Downham's survey also found that the majority of people listen to religious services on the radio.

There has been considerable extension of Church influence in education under the 1944 Education Act: a development "undreamed of only twenty-five years ago," says Mayfield, which has "broadened the Church's constituency in the national life." Other movements include the Industrial Christian Fellowship, an attempt (scarcely successful so far) to obtain a footing in factories and the trade unions, and towards ends like this it has increasingly joined forces with other churches and denominations, as in the "Christian Crusader" campaign of 1947. In 1923 talks with the Catholic Church were initiated with a view to some *rapprochement*, but they quickly broke down; today, the Church of England is pressed into extra militancy by the Catholics' campaign to gain converts who would be most likely to come from the Anglican ranks.

The appeal of the Church of England has always been to the "middle class"—that is, to the section of the working class which, through real or imagined (and always slight) superior status, sees itself as having an interest in this capitalist society. Its hold upon people as actual churchgoers has been weakened by social developments (including the gradual spread of knowledge, and including also the emergence of other opiates); it has, however, largely compensated for this by pushing farther forward in schools, in the mass communication media, and everywhere else it can.

In the hands of the established church, the supernatural is a tool in the teaching of submissiveness and acquiescence before the interests of the owning class. Its growth and identification with the capitalist State; its teaching of reverence for property (itself a great property-owner) and all the institutions of property society; its support and blessing for every war for capitalism (prayers for victory for the British ruling class)—all make clear where the Church of England stands.

It stands, that is, four-square against the working class.

ROBERT COSTER.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS—continued from page 98

We do not claim to have made the best possible use of the election, but we have acquired considerable experience in the campaign which will be an invaluable help on future occasions. We hope that the result of the campaign will encourage other branches to contest local elections in their own area. A good opportunity will arise next year when London Borough Councils are due to be elected.

P. H.

MAY DAY AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

MAY Day demonstrations used to be held on the 1st of May: how they came to be changed to the first Sunday in May is one of life's little ironies, or should we say one of working class life's little ironies? It happened during the first World War when the British and German sections of the working class were killing each other. Then the British Government suggested that in the interests of winning the war it would be greatly obliged if the Labour Party, who were also "winning the war" as well as organising May Day, would hold it on the first Sunday in May. To hold it on a week day would mean thousands of workers might be absent from munition factories and that would mean a drop in war production and what was more vital it would mean a drop in the rate at which the British uniformed workers were killing their German comrades.

It always rains on Sunday

After the first World War the Labour Party, presumably on the grounds that a week day demonstration would affect "peace production," continued to hold May Day demonstrations on the first Sunday in May. There were also "influential people" who thought that if workers wanted to demonstrate they should demonstrate in their own time and not on a day normally devoted to the bosses. And further, as it could be shown statistically that the first May Sabbath was a case—"That it always rains on Sunday"—or nearly always, and so was likely to dampen the demonstrators' ardour, everybody that is everybody apart from the workers seems to have reached a happy May Day solution.

The First of the May Days

There are, of course, four May Days historically considered. Two in the past, one in the present, and a hypothetical one in the future. May Days go back a long way, even the Greeks had a word for it, or more accurately a day for it. So did the Romans, *Maius* was a month of celebration, games and feasting a time when even austere Romans like Julius Caesar and Mark Antony took their hair down.

In Feudal England it was a day of celebration for the return of spring. On that day our forbears consumed quantities of cake and ale and made whoopee. It was a sort of "Knees up Mother Brown" of the Middle Ages, and when the warmth of the day had subsided the young men full of cake and ale picked up the young women, also full of cake and ale, and bore them off into the woods, and a new warmth entered into the proceedings. It is even said, and I hope that I do our forbears no injustice that the girls entered the woods as immature maidens and came out of the woods experienced women. It seems that our working forefathers had more definite ideas about May Day than their modern counterparts.

Exit the First May Day

But Feudalism went and those sorts of May Days went with it—as a result of economic development a new class was emerging who were displacing the old Feudal order, a class of merchants and merchant adventurers who burst asunder the closed Feudal economy and opened up the world. And what with piracy and plunder and the slave trade and colonisation they were so busy amassing

vast wealth that they had little time for anything else, least of all for such things as May Days.

But the peasants and craftsmen of England not only lost their May Days, but their immemorial rights. The Land Enclosure increased in severity—as the 17th and 18th centuries went by a vast mass of peasants became landless and in some cases homeless. At the same time economic development led to a bitter, competitive struggle between the old craft guilds and the new merchant class and in the end the guilds went down in ruins before the impact of a new and superior method of wealth production and organisation.

Thus at the end of the 18th century and the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, a landless, unprivileged and unorganised mass were hungry to enter the new factories built by the new factory owners, i.e. the new ruling class which had emerged from this process of economic development. And these new factory owners equally hungry from the standpoint of profits to receive them into their factories. It was this uncouth, unorganised mass who were the nucleus and origin of the modern working class, yet an unorganised mass who were to become organised by the very process of production. And as the weight of misery and oppression bore more heavily upon their shoulders they were involved in the riots and machine breaking and other acts of violence. From this class struggle between owners and non-owners, the workers began to throw up their own class organs of defence, which later emerged as the modern Trade Union Movement.

The Second May Day

It was out of this class struggle that the idea of a second May Day emerged. Not a May Day merely symbolical of a resurgence of nature, but of labour carrying a promise of a new life. The idea was mooted in France, Germany and England during the 19th century for by this time capitalism had become international and the working class had become international also, and it was felt by groups of workers in different lands that as they had common interests they should also have common aims.

Yet it was not until 1888 that the 2nd International set aside the first day of May to be a day symbolical of international working class solidarity, with an advocacy of the eight-hour day. The first May Day Demonstration was in 1890. On that and subsequent May Days, Negroes, Indians, Chinamen, Germans, Frenchmen, marched in the name of the International working class in different parts of the world, transcending their national boundaries.

In England on May Day, workers marched in various towns and cities and often many of their women marched with them. They marched to the open spaces and parks and those who lived by the sweat of their brow gathered round coal carts and platforms to listen to those who lived or were later to live by the sweat of their tongues.

Workers of the World unite

It was the high tide of working class international feeling. A time when Marx's slogan, "workers of the world unite" seemed to have more significance than ever before—or since. These workers were not Socialists; perhaps the nearest they got to Socialism was a passionate conviction to remould things nearer to the heart's desire,

but they felt a common purpose in face of a common enemy. But this promised spring-time of the working class movement never flowered. The early blush on its cheek, faded before the long, hard winter of growing national sentiment and reformism.

By the turn of the 20th century a change had come o'er the spirit of the dream. The workers still marched, they still gathered round the same coal carts and still listened to the same old speakers. But the old speakers were now saying new things. No longer did they cry, down with the powers that be, for they were trying to start a political movement with the help of the trade unions which hoped to become part of the powers that be and in fact did become part of them—eventually what is more, some of the old agitators and speakers who boasted of their lowly origins successfully took part in that process. So successfully that in their ripe, or rotten ripe old age they recorded their success by writing books like "From Doss House to Debrett" or "From Pigstyle to Parliament," a perhaps not unnatural evolution.

Excelsior!

And so the Labour movement began to carry banners bearing strange signs. There were some in it demanding votes for women. Demands for the nationalisation of the Railways and Mines. Municipalisation of gas, water and later electricity. The fact that these things came about has little to do with the early demands of the Labour Movement, but for other reasons. There was even a demand for the building of Labour Exchanges.

These things were now represented as being steps towards what was then termed the Millenium. The only trouble was that the more steps they took towards the Millenium the further it got away. In fact, they took so many steps towards it that it finally disappeared altogether and has never been seen since.

Freedom for Everybody

At the beginning of the 20th century there appeared the first of the Freedoms. Big banners proclaimed: "Freedom for the Boers." In due course the Boers got their freedom, but like so many such freedoms it turned out to be the freedom of the few to deny any sort of freedom to anybody else. Then there were demands for freedom for the Poles, freedom for the Slavs, etc., in fact, the only thing the workers never demanded was freedom for themselves, freedom from the servility of class domination.

Then the Labour Movement got mixed up with international politics, but international capitalist politics not international working class politics. They began by declaiming against "secret diplomacy." Then the Entente Cordiale. They demanded "No trafficking with Russia." against "The Big Navy Bill," "Abolition of the Territorial Army," etc.

So the Labour Movement, and with it May Days, instead of being the sounding board of international working class sentiment, became a big drum for national rivalries and conflicting foreign politics. A sort of Empire Day in reverse, but much more effective in compounding, confounding, complicating and obfuscating the pattern of working class politics.

After the war, with the advent of the communists in May Day demonstrations and other activities, British Foreign Policy got mixed up with Soviet Foreign Policy and things got in a glorious muddle. Then the com-

munist started the "Hands off Movement." "Hands off China," "Hands off Spain," "Hands off Czechoslovakia," etc., although this did not prevent violent hands from being laid on all of these countries. Then there was the great down and up phase: "Down with Bonar Law," "Down with Baldwin," "Up with Ramsay Mac and Snowden," "Down with Ramsay Mac and Snowden," "Up with Cook and Maxton," "Down with Cook and Maxton," "Down with Churchill," "Up with Churchill," then "Down with Churchill"—*ad infinitum*.

Down with Fascism

Then in the years prior to the second world war there was "Down with Fascism" and a demand for a democratic military alliance against Hitler—Russia was then part of the "democratic alliance." To show how May Days were only consistent in their inconsistency there were at the same time demands for drastic disarmament by the Tory government and devoting the savings to road making and increased doles. There were even demands that future wars should be conducted minus bombers and tanks. Although in demonstrations during the second world war unlimited quantities of both for the Second Front were the subject of slogans.

Now there are no longer cries, such as "Down with capitalism—"Down with war." Nor even that tanks and aeroplanes should not be used in war. Only the Hydrogen Bomb should be taken off the war list so that war might once again become humane, decent and friendly. Such then has been the rise and fall of the second May Day.

May Day in Russia

One cannot, of course, omit May Day in Russia. No doubt the communists' dialectic skill has more than anywhere else turned May Day into its opposite. The communist boast that Soviet May Days are bigger and better than anywhere else. Unlike any other government they have made them state subsidised ceremonies, replete with the panoply and pomp of circumstance. As a show they probably make even a coronation look like a seaside carnival. All the great ones in Russia occupy the seats of the mighty on this day—symbolical of international working class solidarity. In Czarist times the police and military marched with the workers, but they were only with them, not of them. Now under the formulae of the unity of opposites they are included.

Tanks and jet bombers are also thrown in to show that communist war weapons can kill quicker and faster than bourgeois ones, thus demonstrating the superiority of "Socialism" over capitalism. And perhaps if Engels could have seen these Soviet May Days he might have thought that his aphorism—"the irony of history turns everything upside down," was an historic understatement.

To draw an historic parallel, one might think of the British Government in the 19th century organising the workers' May Day. Of thousands of workers with banners headed by old Queen Victoria in the gilded state coach and as they wheeled into the park massed bands of the guard playing with a row tow row tow to the British Grenadiers. And Gladstone, Disraeli and choice spirits from the House of Lords standing on coal carts with faces grimed for the occasion, proclaiming "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your brains." Only the communists could turn such a May Day fantasy into a Russian May Day nightmare.

No doubt in turning back the pages of May Day demonstrations we might laugh at our Victorian working class grandfathers. We tend to laugh at many things in the past, especially the Victorian past, if only perhaps to prevent us from laughing at ourselves, because that might not be so funny. Whether if they could see across the years to the present May Day demonstrations they would "look forward in anger" one cannot say. But one feels whatever they did they wouldn't laugh at us but blush for us instead.

May Days of To-morrow

It might be that when the clock of history has gone forward by establishing a rational society we might so far

as May Day is concerned put the clock back and make it once more a day of celebration and merry making. Then there will be no need to demonstrate. No need to cry "Down with secret diplomacy," because there will be neither secrets nor diplomacy. Nor to call for disarmament, because there will be no need to arm or disarm. Neither shall we organise for the abolition of the Hydrogen Bomb because it, or a miniature specimen of it, will have been relegated to the museum of pre-human history. Men will at last have become truly human, and in the light of that development I will conclude by saying—MAY DAY IS DEAD—LONG LIVE MAY DAY.

E. WILMOTT.

THEATRE

"AN EPITAPH FOR GEORGE DILLON"

—A Study in Failure

"Look back in anger," "The Entertainer" and now "An Epitaph for George Dillon": John Osborne's trilogy of failure. Jimmy Porter is a failure, Archie Rice is a failure, and George Dillon is a failure. This cannot be without significance, the question is—why? The remarkable success of these plays is largely due to a strong sense of identification that many people have with them. They unconsciously or otherwise see something of themselves in the problem children John Osborne has set before them on his stage.

Each of these three plays represents in one way or another the frustrations and disillusionment of youth in post-war Capitalism, their sense of personal failure on the one side and the failure of Britain to remain a front-rank Power on the other, expressed in a soured romanticism the famous "anger," which paradoxically is aimed at those very elements they most desire. Romanticism is essentially the reaction of people to a society which fails to provide them with a satisfactory function. The inability of Capitalism to deal with this basic need thus creates a strong romantic craving for the nebulous "lost cause," for the ideal beyond the drab reality which, unlike in its formative years, the chromium-plated Capitalism of the mid-twentieth century is unable to satisfy. Society has no need of them. Consequently they contract out of the problems of Society, rejected, resentful and rebellious, seeking something, somewhere, that will claim them as its own. Cheated of their purpose and their identity, they seek instead a mythical past, looking backward in anger and also nostalgia, to an age which they imagine had a place in the sun for them as well as the country they pretend in their jilted patriotism to despise.

"An Epitaph for George Dillon," which John Osborne wrote in collaboration with Anthony Creighton, now running at the Comedy Theatre, presents us with the tragedy of such a failure. The artist in Capitalism—a tune without an instrument, unbidden and unwanted, a flower that has somehow strayed amongst the more practical vegetation—unlike his fellow workers in industry and commerce who at least have a point of contact, a specific function, however unsatisfactory and creatively barren.

George Dillon is an actor and a playwright, guiltily ashamed of his social impotence. (The alienation of the



artist from Society and also the stultifying of the artist in each one of us, making work more often than not a penance, is one of the most vicious aspects of Capitalism.) His failure to be a complete human being induces in him contemptuousness of his class through his inability to communicate with them on his own terms. Dillon's contempt and cynicism towards the working class family, on whom he lives is sickening. (Sickening also is the way some members of the audience find this funny.) The narrowness and meanness of their existence symbolises to Dillon his own predicament as an artist and their attitude to him, that of Society to all artists; betimes hostile, patronising, or merely uncomprehending. To the dire necessity of earning a living Dillon eventually succumbs; to suffer a fate worse in reality than complete negation as an artist. Our Society, with its hollow values—as the play shows—which makes even its own vapid morality bow before snobbery and cheap personal success, turns Dillon, the rebellious profligate outsider and erstwhile idealist, into a soggy hack-writer of "prolefeed." Now capitulated to Capitalism's suffocating conformity, it has a place for him at last—but not in the sun.

I. D. J.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

JUNE



1958

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone: MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

THE LIBERAL REVIVAL

THE managers of the Tory and Labour Parties, during the past year, have had to endure a nagging worry of a kind they both thought had gone for ever, the revival of the Liberal vote. To make it worse they see that it has happened not because voters particularly like the Liberals, but because the voters in increasing numbers have had a lively urge to register their dislike of Labour and Tory.

The suffering Labour and Tory leaders, as if by agreement, jeered at the Liberals for having no policy, until Lord Rea, Liberal Leader in the House of Lords, undertook to tell the readers of the *Daily Telegraph* (18th March, 1958) what that policy is.

He did not make a very good job of it for, like the spokesmen of the two big rival parties, he had the delicate task of steering between the fault of saying too little to please anyone and the risk of saying too much and scaring off some potential voters. In this country, with wage and salary earners making up nine-tenths of the electorate, competition for their votes is a tricky business and the three parties have given much thought to working out the best tactics. What has evolved is the situation in which the Tory, Liberal and Labour parties each has a list of vague general principles, and the three lists are almost identical, except for small differences of emphasis. Thus they all say they are working for Peace, Disarmament, low prices, high wages, and making everybody happy, and all declare themselves to be not a class party, but a party of the nation. In practice, this means that the Labour Party thinks it can depend on the continued support of the bulk of organised industrial workers and therefore concentrates its attention on getting additional votes from outside that area. So in its 1950 Election Manifesto it declared:—

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"We appeal to manual workers—skilled, semi-skilled and so-called unskilled; farmers and agricultural workers; active and able managers and administrators in industry and the public services; professional workers, technicians and scientists; and housewives and women workers of all kinds."

The Tories, on the other hand, being strongly represented among clerical and professional workers, as well as among farmers and property owners, hopes to make headway among the better paid skilled workers. Mr. T. E. Utley, writing on "What is a Tory?" in the *Daily Telegraph* (24th October, 1957) laid down the tactic and its application:

Holding that "any political party tends at any moment to draw its most assured support from a particular social class," he went on to define the new recruits wooed by the Tory Party propagandists as the "skilled worker on the up and up," meaning the man with a TV set, a motor cycle, some money in the Savings Bank. In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* (8th May, 1958), Mr. Colm Brogan put it more fully: The Conservative party ought to stand openly as the guardian of the middle class, and affirm that the whole nation needs a contented and expanding middle class. . . . The Conservative party should set its face like flint against inflation, which bears such special harshness on the large army of thrifty workers who have their savings in cash or fixed interest stocks."

How can the Liberals break in?

This is the situation facing the Liberals. They see the Labour and Tory parties well dug in on their respective fields and trying to entice over the floating voters in no-man's land. The only way for the Liberals to hope to break in is to attack both the other parties and try to detach lukewarm supporters. So Lord Rea in his article had to make as much as he could of the case that Liberalism is different from Toryism and Labourism, not just in respect of practical measures, but in principle. He did this by claiming that Liberalism is "much more of a philosophy and a faith than a set of rules made to benefit one section of society at the expense of another section. . . . That is why its supporters are a cross section of every social class and of every income bracket . . . people who do not join a party for what they personally can get out of it."

Then Lord Rea came down to practical questions and told his readers that what the Liberals aim to do is to cut taxation drastically, mainly by cutting armament expenditure; give the workers an incentive to work harder by having a share of profits or by owning shares in companies; curbing the monopolistic trade associations of manufacturers and the trade unions; giving the individual protection against having his property and his freedom infringed by the State; resist Labour Party nationalisation schemes; and generally to safeguard us all against the hidebound extremists in the Tory and Labour parties.

The Question of Capitalism

When we look for Liberal and Tory and Labour views on the basic question of the class-divided capitalist social system in which we live we find, under wordy phrases that indicate differences between the parties, what is in fact an almost identical outlook. The Liberals want to keep capitalism but modify it by letting the worker

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share in profits. The Tories frankly accept the class division:—

"He [the Tory] seeks peace and justice by harmonising contending interests with each other rather than by nursing the dream of a society altogether free from conflict and friction."—(*Daily Telegraph*, 24th October, 1957.)

At the time of writing the failure of the Tory government to harmonise contending class interests has been glaringly exhibited in the strike of bus workers and the threatened strikes of railwaymen and others; events which also demonstrate the idle dream of the Labour Party that nationalisation would bring peace to industry.

We had 50 years of Liberalism

In March the Liberal Leader, Jo Grimond told a

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Pensions for the Dead—the Liberal Government's Pension Scheme

The Liberal "Old Age" proposal is then a sop to keep the workers quiet—but such a paltry sop. The "Old Age" part is prominent enough, but surely a microscope is needed to discover the pension.

Five shillings a week when you are seventy, should you be so unfortunate as to live as long. A problematic five shillings a week at seventy—that is, of course, if you have been a good boy; if you haven't within five years

young Liberal mass meeting that what Britain needs is 50 years of Liberalism. In spite of their youth there is nothing to prevent them from learning from their history books that between 1834 and 1916 we did in fact have fifty years of Liberal government, and that it left this country in the same sorry mess that it had been left by Tory governments and was later on to be left by Labour governments.

When we, as Socialists, examine the records of government by the three parties, separately and in coalitions, we are reinforced in our conviction that the only solution is the one sneered at by the Tory writer, and rejected alike by Liberal and Labour, the "dream of a society altogether free from conflict and friction"—a Socialist world.

been convicted of vagrancy, desertion or "serious" crime; if you are not in receipt of poor relief; if your income is not more than ten shillings a week, and so on—while married couples living together are going to be punished for their foolishness by having their pensions reduced to 3s. 9d. per head.

Five shillings a week as a bribe to the worker to keep out of the workhouse where it would cost at least 18s. to keep him. Five shillings a week as a premium on low wages to these few ancient toilers who, by some miracle, are still able to work a little. Such are the promises of the "Workers' Budget."

(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, June, 1908.)

ANNIHILATION OR SOCIALISM?

Address by J. D'Arcy at Conway Hall on Easter Sunday

Mr Chairman,

The proposition may seem a phantasy, insofar as we are actually deliberating the effects of the greatest destructive weapon known to man, the Hydrogen Bomb, and yet it is a reality. Socialists are not committed to the view that the Hydrogen Bomb will abolish civilisation, our main point is not only that mankind is taking a terrible risk in introducing Hydrogen Bombs, but the basic question of War itself. A peculiarity of those interested in the abolition of the Hydrogen Bomb is that they are not interested in Socialism, neither are they interested in the cause of war. In fact, the opposite is true. Take the illogical position of the Aldermaston march leaders, Michael Foot, Donald Soper, Ian Mikardo, Canon Collins, among others. These are fervent supporters of the Labour Party, who incidentally were the first British Government to approve the manufacture of nuclear weapons, including the proposals to erect factories like Harwell and Aldermaston.

It is quite useless to apply to these people the normal reasoning processes, as their whole theories and concepts of the nature of the world they live in are irrational, unscientific and in fact unnatural.

The main criterion for abolishing the Hydrogen Bomb is the amount of damage it does, the amount of life and property which will be destroyed. Whilst this is a relative assessment compared with the present methods of waging war, it is an illogical reason. Capitalism itself, outside of War and H. Bombs, literally mutilates human society at all times. So devastating are the effects of the Hydrogen Bomb that a number of local authorities have

formed the view that no Civil Defence is possible against such a weapon. St. Pancras Borough Council and Coventry City Council have refused to operate Civil Defence schemes, as they regard them as completely futile. Governments naturally can never take the view that no Civil Defence is possible, as they must hold out some hope of protection.

Mr. Bevan, at the last Labour Party Conference, refused to commit the Labour Party to the abolition of the Hydrogen Bomb. He claimed that people must face the facts in the present world situation—facts of a situation largely the creation of Labour Party policy and ultimately Labour Government policy for the retention and running of capitalism. Communist government policy does not differ. Mr. Gromyko, who announced to the United Nations assembly a few days ago that Russia was abandoning Hydrogen Bomb tests (not abolishing the bomb), and invited other governments to do likewise. It would appear that the Russian government have found out all they need to know about the use of this weapon, apart from the fact that they are trying to out-manoeuvre American and British capitalism in the field of diplomacy. It seems that British and American capitalism, trusted allies, will not exchange nuclear secrets with each other.

There is a danger in discussing the abolition of the Hydrogen Bomb as an end in itself, as it tends to encourage political support of the kind Socialists have been asked to give in the past on issues always isolated, such as the Rent Restrictions Act, Democracy, "End War" Campaigns, in which all the gentlemen previously named have had more than a passing interest.

The S.P.G.B. has been continually invited to abandon Socialism, join the Labour or Communist parties, or the Independent Labour Party. Above all, it has been advised to abandon its uncompromising hostility to capitalism and its political parties. The question they throw at us, "Where have you gone in 55 years?" they never apply to themselves, for obvious reasons. Political activity today, apart from that carried on by Socialists, is concerned purely with social reforms. There are more social problems today than ever, a bigger variety, and consequently more well-meaning and time-wasting reformers. New social problems such as Hydrogen Bombs, intense Nationalism, Juvenile Delinquency, Drug Addiction and Crime, and Road Accidents, are added to the old recurring problems of Unemployment, War, Disease and Hunger, which are no nearer solution in spite of the energy and time spent on them. Socialists are not ignorant of the different kinds of social problems, but they view them with a difference. The difference is—we look for the common factor, the common denominator. The common factor is that these problems are mainly endured by that section of the population, the working class, both here and abroad.

The same common factor operates in the international disputes between Governments—that factor being the monopoly of the wealth produced by that working class and its realisation in Rent, Interest and Profit. The Socialist combines all the parts, and plans his activities accordingly. When you have added up the parts we are left with a world divided into two main social groups—Owners and Non-Owners; buyers of labour power and sellers of labour power.

How can we ignore our own conclusions? Or, for that matter, how can anyone ignore the existence of a class struggle, the existence of social problems, which have a common origin and consequently a common solution? Before the solution, let us take a closer look at the nature of Capitalist society. What is its function? What is the law of its existence and consequently its objects?

Capitalism is a system of society which produces goods incidentally. Fundamentally its aim is the amassing of surplus value. Productivity and Profit are inter-

changeable and synonymous terms. There is a complete divorce of production and consumption. Production is carried out for profit and not for use. Thus we have the exploitation of the majority of society as a means to enrich a small minority—the capitalist class. Capitalism is contradictory and anti-social.

Governments of all countries seek to maintain this social relationship of owner and non-owners, buyer and seller. Each is struggling for the monopoly. Mr. Krushchev, the new Russian Czar, in one continent, exhorting the workers to produce more in less time (*Sunday Express*, 8th April, 1958): Mr. Eisenhower, the American President, endeavouring to satisfy the 5½ million unemployed, who took the same advice from him two years ago, the same bad advice which Mr. Krushchev now gives to East European workers.

What can we look forward to? The fall of the American Government in the winter, the probable fall of the tottering Tory Government here, and the election of a Labour Government with its sterile and barren policies. The complete inability of French capitalism to deal with the Algerian problem; two or three major strikes, and unlimited exhortations to work harder to stave off unemployment. Are people interested in Socialism or T.V. sets? Can they understand Socialism? Most workers want to be left alone to indulge their hobbies, dig their gardens, or watch their T.V. sets. Most are not interested in politics, and would remain uninterested if it were not for the demands made upon them by capitalism. Capitalism will not let them dig their gardens or watch their T.V. sets. Capitalism, with its social problems, induces them to react along the lines of social reform. We claim that the working class as a whole can canalise their activity for social reform into activity for Socialism. Socialism is the common ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production, irrespective of race or sex. This is the kind of society the Socialist Party wants to establish. What is the problem of the Socialist Party of Great Britain? Our problem is to get people interested in Socialism; it is our job and our responsibility—a responsibility to persuade and provoke people into accepting our ideas. This is our object and this will be our achievement.

RECESSION IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

THE United States is at present in the throes of the worst period of industrial stagnation it has experienced since the 1930s. And Canada, as number one U.S. satellite, with an economy closely interwoven with that of the U.S., fares no better. The seriousness of the situation may be indicated by the figures for unemployment, which in March reached 5,198,000 in the U.S., and 590,000 in Canada.

Political, business and other leaders in both countries respond to the condition in the same shallow manner.

When the existence of the "recession" was officially recognised some months ago, U.S. President Eisenhower proposed to deal with it by substantial tax reductions, which, he said, would increase purchasing power deplete surpluses and start the wheels of industry turning again. Mr. Pearson, Canada's Liberal leader, also advanced this thought in the late election campaign. The proposal has not yet been put into operation, perhaps because Mr.

Eisenhower forgot about it and Mr. Pearson failed to become Prime Minister.

At present Mr. Eisenhower is lending his support to "operation optimism." Lack of confidence is now blamed for the recession and this confidence must be restored. People must in some way be encouraged to buy goods, even to the point of extravagance. They must, in Mr. Eisenhower's words, be urged to "buy anything."

Following this line of reasoning, U.S. capitalists are doing their best to propagandise themselves back to prosperity. The Advertising Council, a top advertising group, has started a four-month "confidence in a growing America" campaign, intended to improve the "economic attitudes" of consumers. Auto dealers in 110 cities have started sales drives featuring the slogan, "You Auto Buy Now." It is expected that this campaign will spread to 200 more cities. Cleveland has started a "Buy Now" campaign, with a "V-for Values" theme and a "Miss

Prosperity." Boston is planning a POPS ("Power of Positive Selling") drive to "combat loose recession talk." In New York a "National Sales Crusade" is being launched. Some business men are wearing embroidered pocket handkerchiefs proclaiming "Business is GREAT." An appliance concern has issued large lapel buttons saying "Business is Good." The Public Relations Society of America has asked its members to send all optimistic news they can about their companies to a central clearing house for national distribution.

If empty prattle is an effective weapon against hard times, there is enough of it circulating at present in the U.S. to take care of all eventualities.

Canadians are not able to chase banshees with the same vigour and versatility as their American cousins, but they do have the same tendency to deliver sledgehammer blows at everything except the nail. Prime Minister Diefenbaker thought a while ago that diverting trade from the U.S. to Britain would help. Now he insists that he was misunderstood. Throughout the winter a Government-sponsored campaign to "Do It Now" was carried on. Billboards, radio, television newspapers, all were used to urge those who needed jobs done to have them

done at once. More recently the trade union movement has been taking up Mr. Eisenhower's proposal of lower taxes. Claude Jodoin, Canadian Labour Congress president, at the recent CLC Convention, dealt at some length on this theme, seeing in lower taxes a billion extra dollars being put into the pockets of the consumers, "particularly the poorer consumers."

Meanwhile the employing class, despite their playfulness, are not passing up a favourable opportunity to look after themselves. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics reports that the income of Canadian labour in the one-month period from December to January had declined 4.5 per cent., and hourly wages in manufacturing declined from \$1.65 on January 1st to \$1.64 on February 1st. The decline between December and January can be attributed mainly to increasing unemployment, but that cannot be said of the later decline.

Mr. Jodoin and the trade unions should take a long look at these figures and then start grooming themselves for some independent working class activity.

What they ought not to be doing is looking to their masters for sensible or helpful suggestions.

J. M. (Socialist Party of Canada).

CORRESPONDENCE

DOES OUR DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES NEED MODERNISING?

A reader, Mr. H. G. Beales (Northfleet), writes suggesting that our Declaration of Principles would be more attractive if re-worded. He writes:—

"May I, as a looker-on, offer you a few humble suggestions? It does seem to me that you have a case that should run through this country like fire; it only needs to be stated in more up-to-date language; all this talk about the Master Class is a trifle obsolete. I enclose a few suggested improvements for your declaration of principles."

PROPOSED DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

(1) "That Society, as at present constituted, is based upon the ownership of Money, and the acquisition of Money. This state of Society has succeeded in making Man the most vicious and selfishly cruel animal this world has ever known. It must be obvious to the meanest intelligence where Mankind is going, if he persists in this way of life."

(2) "No one can dispute that this could be a really wonderful world to live in. Nature always produces in abundance if given the right kind of encouragement. Not only has the present system of Society debased and brutalised human nature, it also persistently shortens and brutalises his physical life on this earth. The latest scientific opinion is that man's body is constructed to last 150 years in health. Think what this means."

(3) "Your Hospitals are chock-a-block with sick people. Your mental institutions are not big enough to cope with all the mentally sick. All this is directly due to the present system of Society. It is always Money first and Humanity a very bad second. The existing law says every man for himself, which is the law of the jungle, and quite obsolete in this age."

(4) "In a state of plenty the present state of Society would collapse, hence the great fight being waged by the powers-that-be against a state of plenty. The present system could not exist in a state of plenty, and its managers are only interested in making the Money system work, which, as you see, is the cause of all our troubles."

(5) "The Socialist Party of Great Britain proposes to bring about a really sane system of Society, based on discipline

and decency, by educating the people, politically, morally and spiritually with this object in view. We therefore appeal to everyone agreeing with the above principles, of any creed, sex, or colour, to join us and save Mankind from catastrophe, and make his sojourn here really worth while, and of which he may be rightfully proud."

REPLY

(1) Our correspondent's first point concerns the choice of words. There is little doubt that if the Declaration of Principles had been drawn up in 1954 instead of in 1904 some phrases would have been differently worded, simply because some words have gone out of use and others have come into use. Some different words would have been used, but to express exactly the same principles. To make a change now would have some advantage, no doubt, but against it would be the disadvantage that some people would assume that a different meaning was intended and time would be taken up explaining that there had been no change in meaning. This idea has been considered, but the Party has decided against the change of wording.

If all that holds back the swift acceptance of our Declaration of Principles in the year 1958 is that some of its wording smacks of the language of 1904 why did it not sweep the country in 1904? The reason, we hold, lies in the fact that the ideas embodied in the Declaration were not readily acceptable and would not have been readily acceptable no matter what words were used to clothe them.

(2) Our correspondent mentions the term "master class," which, he holds, is a trifle obsolete. We assume that he means that a different name should be used for the capitalist class. It is quite true that most workers to-day do not use the term master class, or the term capitalist class; neither did they in 1904. But there is more in this than a name. Most workers, then as now, had not realised that they live in a class-divided society, it is a conception that has to be explained to them, for the capitalist class has not undergone anything more than superficial changes. They still own, and still, directly or through their agents, control the means of production and distribution.

(3) Our correspondent, however, wants us to drop the

reference to means of production and distribution and use instead the words "money" and "the acquisition of money." To this there are two main objections. The first is that it is not accurate. The basis on which capitalism rests is not money, but the ownership by the capitalist class of the means of production and distribution, the land, factories, railways, etc.

The second is that it would easily be misunderstood by those who believe that the evils of capitalism could be removed by changes in the monetary system, for example, the advocates of complete governmental ownership of the banks, the advocates of inflation and their opposites, the advocates of "sound money," i.e., a circulating gold currency in places of notes.

(4) And this brings us to the fact that, in addition to changing the words, our correspondent has removed the

clauses of the Declaration dealing with the need to gain control of the machinery of government in order that Socialism shall be established. This is a fatal defect in itself but it also overlooks the fact that a political party has to have a basis on which members are admitted. The basis of membership of the S.P.G.B. is its Declaration of Principles. If the revised form suggested by our correspondent replaced the existing form, admission to membership would cease to be dependent on the old Declaration and would rest on the new. This would open the Party to people who do not accept the need to gain control of the machinery of government, and to people who wanted only that the monetary system be amended, or replaced by barter, and to many others who, in fact, do not accept the Socialist case.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

AN AMERICAN BROADCAST?

We have received a letter from Mr. Charles Sussman, of Philadelphia, informing us of a proposal to broadcast over the American Radio the answers to seven questions relating to armaments which he was putting to us as well as for a tape recording of our views for broadcasting purposes. Below is the script of our answers to the question which was recorded by J. Darcy on our behalf.

Speaking on behalf of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, I am responding to an invitation to give our views on a number of questions concerning armaments and foreign policy.

In fairness to you, and to us, I must explain at the outset that we are not asking for your consideration on the grounds that there is large support for our ideas in Great Britain. We are indeed a small organisation, formed in 1904, and growing slowly. Nevertheless, we claim that our views do merit your careful thought, as we have the only practical answer to the problems of a distracted and violence-torn world. As it is unlikely that you have ever heard our views before we appeal to you to give them the consideration that should be given to fresh ideas on a subject of such supreme importance to the human race.

Seven questions have been put to us. In order to make our answers to these questions understandable, I must explain the outlook from which we start.

Our aim is a world in which everything that is in and on the earth will be the common possession of all mankind, without privileged groups of any kind except the old, the infirm and the young. A world in which there would be no buying and selling, or profit motive, and in which frontiers would have disappeared.

We hold that, economically and politically, we all live in a world that is desperately sick, and this means all the peoples in all the world; in Europe and the Americas, in India, China and Russia, in the West as well as in the East.

Holding this view, we do not offer to draw up better foreign policies in place of the existing ones. Such efforts, as the bitter experiences of the past have made clear, are useless for curing the disease affecting the world. The disease is a fundamental one, and requires the elimination of its cause.

I would put it like this.

If the world were organised in the way we Socialists

want it, there would be no foreign policies. Foreign policies are concerned with the frictions and animosities that exist between national groups, each pressing forward and defending antagonistic sectional interests. If the interests throughout the world were mutual, there would be harmony and friendliness between the people in all parts of the world, and there would be no need for a foreign policy, or a foreign secretary, to tell us how this can be accomplished.

But the nations are not organised for friendship. They are organised for the aggressive competitive activity of seeking trade and profit. Behind these, and directly concerned with them, is the effort to control sources of raw material and trade routes; and behind that again the supporting military forces, up to, and including, the latest horror—the H. Bomb.

Holding the views we do about the kind of world society that could and must be brought about, and holding the views we do about the incurable nature of the evils affecting the world whilst under the present social system, the Socialist Party of Great Britain has declared unqualified opposition to the wars of our time, including the two world wars, the Korean war, the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, and the brutal Russian suppression of Hungary two years ago.

In the light of what I have already said, I now come to the seven questions I have been asked to answer.

Firstly, I am asked what is our view of re-unification and re-militarising Germany?

The very fact that these two questions have to be linked together shows how cruel and evil the world's habitual attitudes are. Surely the situation is absurd in which the simple problem of German speaking people getting together cannot be considered except in relation to armaments.

The second question concerns N.A.T.O.

In the world as it is the rival national groups make uneasy alliances for war, under the mistaken impression that they are avoiding war. In the world that Socialists envisage there will be no rival national groups.

The third question is about the construction of rocket missile bases in England.

We do not share the mistaken, and often dangerous, nationalistic prejudices of non-socialists. People from

America, or Russia, or anywhere else, are welcome here as far as we are concerned. But then, of course, from our standpoint we would have them come here not to construct weapons and means of destruction, but to help us with the elementary things that people need, or just to enjoy themselves. In any event, we are opposed to people anywhere in the world making or using weapons of destruction, or being the victims of their use. To be willing that others should suffer but not yourselves is part of the evil thinking produced by present conditions.

The fourth question concerns the proposal of a disengagement of the rival military forces facing each other in Europe.

Of course we are always glad to see a war end or a war avoided, but where really does the proposal get us? From a military point of view, with the fast movement of ground forces, and still more with all the weapons that move at incredible speed above the earth, what does disengagement really amount to?

The same applies to the proposal of a European neutral zone free from nuclear weapons.

The sixth question concerns the suspension of all hydrogen and atomic tests.

We are opposed to the threatening of anyone, individually or collectively, with violence or war. We are opposed to the testing, use or manufacture of any weapons for destroying human life, as our object includes abolishing them all. But we are not interested in the limited campaigns of those who are not concerned with abolishing the conditions that cause wars.

The seventh question relates to disarmament under

international inspection and control.

This brings us back to our basic point of view which is diametrically opposed to the various conventional views. Trying to inspect and control heavily armed national groups that, by definition, are seeking to deceive each other preparatory to being able to destroy each other, is not a policy for sane and sober well-wishers of our fellows, but for gamblers with the life and death of the human race.

In conclusion, I appreciate that the outlook and views of the Socialist Party of Great Britain may sound utopian and impossible to those who have never heard them, let alone considered them.

However, we are by no means pessimistic. The dire consequences of the present social system are helping, however slowly, to force our solution to the front. Time will accelerate the pace. We are sure that people all over the world will sooner or later recognise the correctness of our approach to world problems, and the need to change the social system in the direction we have described; a need that is as urgent in Russia as in America or Britain.

Don't hang back too long, and don't leave others to do the thinking for you. With so many scientists concentrating on weapons of mass destruction, and politicians of such limited vision, the fate of humanity depends on your own sober and clear thinking.

I would add that associated with us in outlook is the Socialist Party of Ireland; the World Socialist Party of the United States; the Socialist Party of Canada; the Socialist Party of Australia, and the Socialist Party of New Zealand; as well as groups in other parts of the world.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

May Day, 1958. Party activities in London, Glasgow and Nottingham had the best results for many years and it is most heartening. The weather was good, which is a helpful factor, but even with weather in our favour, it is essential that members should organise to get the best results. This they did, and although full details have not been collected, we do know that thirty-five members in Hyde Park sold at least 200 SOCIALIST STANDARDS and ten shillings' worth of pamphlets. An evening meeting at Denison House was also successful, but full details are not yet to hand. **Nottingham.** Members from London added to the efforts of the local members and held most successful meetings; literature sales amounted to nearly £3. **Glasgow.** Comrade D'Arcy, from London, joined forces with the Glasgow members, and outdoor meetings and one indoor meeting resulted in the sale of over £4 worth of literature, and collections amounted to £7 10s. 0d. At all the meetings the audiences were attentive and asked good questions.

Wickford. Branch reports that successful sales of the SOCIALIST STANDARD have resulted from the Branch members canvassing in the Basildon New Town area of Essex.

Glasgow's May Day Meeting. Glasgow City and Kelvingrove Branches turned up in full strength at Queens Park Recreation Grounds for their afternoon meeting. Twenty-one members sold nearly £4 worth of Socialist literature while Comrade James D'Arcy addressed an



appreciative audience of two hundred, in opposition to the Glasgow Trades Council, whose representative, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell—addressing a somewhat thicker audience—explained how the Tory Party were to blame for the impoverished condition of the British working class.

The Party's May Day venture was well organised and the opening shots were fired when six members distributed 1,500 leaflets, from door to door, advertising the Sunday evening meeting. Later, in the wee small hours of Saturday and Sunday mornings, the streets of Glasgow received a face-lift of whitewash in the shape of adverts. for the meetings. In the evening the finishing touches were put to the May Day campaign when Comrades Higgins, Richmond and D'Arcy put the Socialist case to seventy enthusiastic members of the working class assembled in the St. Andrew's Halls.

The total collections and donations from both meetings more than covered all expenses. Full details of the literature sales are not yet to hand, but it is expected these will be better than they have been for many years.

During the afternoon, while our members were swarming over the Queens Park selling STANDARDS, some members took the opportunity to expose to a small group of workers the anti-working class activities of the Communist Party. A few members of the Paisley Branch of the Communist Party were so incensed by the Socialist analysis that they rashly challenged the S.P.G.B. to debate and, needless to say, their challenge was accepted. We are writing to the Paisley Branch and can only hope that the "Foreign Office" of the U.S.S.R. will come out of their funk-holes long enough to be opposed by a Socialist speaker.

After the success of May Day members of both branches are looking forward to an excellent hearing during the summer months.

Comrade Russell, who lives in Manchester, is greatly assisting in the disposal of back numbers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. His work takes him travelling constantly over an area stretching from Yorkshire to London, and over to Wales. During these trips he takes the opportunity of leaving our journal in prominent places and has had many interesting discussions with fellow travellers on trains, buses, and in station waiting rooms. He travels over the same ground, mainly in a weekly cycle, and maintains his "distribution" constantly. As he so modestly says, perhaps the constant effort on these lines may bear some much-wanted fruit. Well said, indeed, and perhaps other members similarly placed might like to try their hands at this method of propaganda.

Bristol. Meetings will be held at Dundham Downs on Sundays at 3 p.m. Will members and sympathisers make every effort to attend and assist Comrade Flowers and other members of Bristol Group?

Fulham and Chelsea Branch report that they are holding regular and interesting Branch meetings and discussions on the first and third Thursdays in each month. As an experiment, the Branch Organiser has arranged a number of meetings and discussions with the aid of special L.P. records. The first record, "Shuttle and Cage," which includes a very dramatic ballad about the Gresford mining disaster of 1934, and a number of English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish industrial folk songs, sung by Ewan MacColl, gave rise to much interesting discussion. Further recordings made by Alan Lomax deal with the life of the American negro.

Since the advertisement of these discussions, the Branch Organiser has received a number of letters (including one from Comrade Rab of America) enquiring about the records used; or making suggestions of other recordings that might benefit Party discussion Groups and Branches. A reader in Glasgow suggests that the recording "Old Man Atom," by Guy Caraman, which deals with nuclear weapons, would be of interest to Socialists. He also mentions "Jack Elliot's 'Woody Guthrie's Blues,' which contains, along with four other titles, the '1913 Massacre' and 'The Ludlow Massacre,' both songs of the murders of early Trade Unionists in America."

At Easter a number of members of the Branch went to Aldermston, and helped with the distribution of the leaflet, "Nuclear War," and sold Party literature on the

march. On Sunday, April 13th, six members of the Branch, along with over forty other members of the Party, distributed "Nuclear War" leaflets, and sold Party literature (one member of the Branch sold 16 "Socialist Party and War" pamphlets!) at the Labour Party and T.U.C. meeting in Trafalgar Square.

On Thursday, May 1st, members of the Branch collaborated with Paddington Branch members in holding a meeting at Earls Court. And, during the summer months, Branch members will be collaborating with Paddington Branch in running outdoor meetings at Earls Court on Thursday and Friday evenings. All readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD are welcome to come. Meetings commence at 8 p.m.

The Overseas Secretary asks all members who have overseas contacts to send the names and addresses of these contacts, together with any other information about contacts, to the Overseas Secretary, c/o H. O., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

The Overseas Secretary would also be pleased to hear from readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD abroad.

Comrade Ivy Groves. It is a sad duty to have to report the sudden death at the age of 50 years, of Ivy Groves, who had a heart attack on Sunday, May 4th. The not so very young members will well remember her as a loyal Comrade who, although not a writer or a speaker for the Party, was always ready with a smile and much energy, to help in any way. Until the last few years, when owing to domestic circumstances when it was not possible to be around so much, she regularly attended branch meetings and Head Office. It was 25 years ago when Comrade Ivy Groves joined the Chiswick Branch which via Wembley Branch became Ealing Branch. Latterly, when living in South London she transferred to Camberwell Branch. Many Comrades well know that her help and thoughtfulness greatly assisted Clifford Groves in his work for the Party as a propagandist, E. C. Member and General Secretary for many years.

Hackney Branch. Hackney Branch consider that the election campaign in the Bethnal Green division was extremely successful, in fact, far more successful than we had hoped.

The votes cast for the three candidates were 356,333, and 306, indicating in some small degree, the growth of Socialist ideas within the constituency.

During the campaign 24,000 election manifestoes were distributed (one to each home in the constituency), together with several thousand leaflets advertising meetings some "Introducing the S.P.G.B." and a number of free copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. Apart from this canvassing of the SOCIALIST STANDARD continued, and about 24 dozen copies were sold.

The support given by other branches was extremely encouraging, a number of members attending from Islington, Wood Green, Paddington, Lewisham, Woolwich and West Ham branches. Branches also assisted with financial support.

Attempts were made to hold a number of outdoor meetings, but these were not successful due to the very bad weather. The three school meetings were also poorly attended, probably for the same reason.

(Continued on page 88)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess, but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowed capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

ANOTHER OLD MEMBER GOES

We regret to record the death on the 25th April, at the age of 83, of Comrade Harry Gostick. He had been ill for two years and died of pneumonia. The cremation took place at Streatham, the same place as his wife, Kate Gostick, was cremated some years ago. She was the sister of Jack Fitzgerald and one of the co-founders of the Party.

Harry Gostick joined the Party in 1907 and was active, in an unobtrusive way, until a few years ago, when the illness of his wife and advancing years compelled him to drop out of activity. He belonged to the dwindling group of members that participated in the work of the Party during the early years, when the Party was struggling hard, and under great difficulties, for recognition. During the first World War, when the Party was badly knocked about, he was one of those who helped to keep it going.

It is always very sad to have to say the last farewell to a staunch old comrade who played his part in the only cause that is worth the effort of a lifetime.

GILMAC.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hackney—Junct. of Hereford St. and Cheshire St., E.11 ... 11 a.m.
Hyde Park ... 3.30—5 p.m.
East Street (Walworth) June 1st 11 a.m. and 1 p.m.
" 8th 11 a.m.
" 15th 12 noon
" 22nd 12 noon
" 29th 1 p.m.

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS AND FRIDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road ... 8 p.m.

Kingston, Castle St. ... 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Finbury Pavement ... Tuesdays
Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

SOCIALIST STANDARD SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Detach and forward, with remittance, to Literature Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

Please send SOCIALIST STANDARD for 12 months (6 months, 4/-) for which 7/6 is enclosed.

Name
(BLOCK LETTERS)

Address

(State, if renewal, or new subscriber)

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTHAM.—Secretary: Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.
BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh
LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breakley, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIdbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Will members and sympathisers interested in the formation of a group please contact T. Lord, 288, Church Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT.—Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAJ 5165.

REDBILL AND RIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Weilon Rd., Pencool, Nr. Llanelly

BRISTOL MEETINGS

on

DURHAM DOWNS,

SUNDAYS, 8th and 22nd June,

at 6 p.m.

Members and Sympathisers are urged to assist the Group by attending early.

PUBLICATION DATE OF
"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

PAMPHLETS

Questions of the Day	1/- (Post free 1/2)
The Socialist Party and War	1/- (" " 1/2)
Russia Since 1917	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Communist Manifesto and the Last Hundred Years	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Racial Problem—A Socialist Analysis	1/- (" " 1/2)
Socialism	4d. (" " 6d.)
Socialism or Federal Union?	4d. (" " 6d.)
The Socialist Party: Its Principles and Policy	4d. (" " 6d.)
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d. (" " 6d.)
Nationalisation or Socialism?	6d. (" " 8d.)
Socialist Comment	6d. (" " 8d.)

All obtainable from the Literature Committee,
52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (June 5th and 19th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., at 7.30 p.m.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Thursdays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECLES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles. Secretary, F. Lee.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m. at 34, St. George's Square, (Wilcox, top flat) S.W.1. All correspondence to Secretary, c/o. H. O., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darroch, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E.1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (June 4th and 18th) at 8 p.m., The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (June 2nd, 16th and 30th) at 8 p.m. at Partickburgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivimey, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m., June 4th and 18th, 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o. Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 4492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crayford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbass, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WICKFORD meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m., "Skara Brae" Farm Crescent, Woodham Road, Battlesbridge, Essex. Enquiries to Secretary, L. R. Plummer.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Interwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at 118, Pelham Road, Wood Green, N.22.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.8.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

THURSDAY EVENINGS at 8 p.m.

at

34, ST. GEORGE'S SQUARE, S.W.1.

(Wilcox, top flat)

June 5th "The Electrical Trades Union"

A member of the E.T.U. will open a discussion on recent trends in that union.

* * *

June 19th "Blues in the Mississippi Night"

A documentary recording describing the social conditions of Negro workers that existed in the South of the United States between 1890 and 1930 when the Blues were formed, followed by an informal discussion.

* * *

July 3rd "Leadbelly"

A collection of eight folk songs by Huddie Ledbetter, followed by an informal discussion.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

No. 647 Vol. 54 July, 1958

Socialists and General de Gaulle

SOCIALISTS ARE OPPOSED to what de Gaulle stands for on principle, because he stands for French capitalism, and Socialists do not support any capitalist faction anywhere or at any time. But the Socialist principle on which we oppose de Gaulle just as imperatively lines us up against the French political parties that oppose de Gaulle, the so-called "Communists" and the minority of the French party misnamed Socialist (its majority supports de Gaulle).

The immediate issue which so bewildered de Gaulle's opponents of a few weeks ago that many of them ended by voting him into power, was the alleged "defence of democracy." Faced with a threat of civil war from the rebel generals and French settlers in Algeria and their sympathisers in France, they chose what they thought the lesser evil, making de Gaulle head of the government in the hope that he could and would control the generals. The French Communist Party, which defends the Russian dictatorship and still applauds the bloody suppression of the Hungarian workers by Russian troops in 1956, came out hypocritically for the "defence of democracy" against the "Fascist" de Gaulle. We need waste no words on them except to wonder whether their failure to back up their outcry against de Gaulle with something more than words may not have been due to a lurking fear—that perhaps de Gaulle may do a deal with the Russian government behind their backs.

But although the Communist Party did not change its ground while the crisis was on, the French Labourites, the so-called Socialist Party, made themselves ridiculous with a series of somersaults. Starting with a resolution not to support de Gaulle in any circumstances, they followed this with a decision to let the M.P.'s have a free hand either to follow their leader Mollet, who backed de Gaulle, or to vote against him; then another decision a few days later to let them abstain from voting on the question of handing over power to de Gaulle. With Mollet and others of their leaders in de Gaulle's government the party is split into nearly equal halves; with likelihood that more will swing over to Mollet.

The time-worn tactic of the lesser evil is the philosophy of the reformist labour movement in France as in Britain, but both movements might recall that 25 years ago the German Social Democrats in the same dilemma helped elect Marshal Hindenburg to the Presidency of Germany "to keep Hitler out," but, as it turned out, to open the door to Nazism. It does not necessarily follow that matters in France will take the same course, with Soustelle or some other playing Hitler to de Gaulle's Hindenburg, but the "lesser evil" supporters of de Gaulle in France have no guarantee at all that this will not happen. They have taken a

THE BUS STRIKE

THE AMERICAN SLUMP

WORLD WORTH WHILE

THE MIND IN CHAINS

WHAT IS WRONG WITH
ARBITRATION?

Registered for transmission to Canada

Monthly

6^d

leap in the dark because they did not know what else they could do. Standing by the Socialist principle in the matter did not enter into their minds.

Are we entitled to condemn them and disregard their plea that they had to make a cruel choice? Emphatically, yes! Had they been Socialists, adhering to the Socialist principle which recognises as basic that working class interest is opposed to all supporters of capitalism, they would never have had to consider the matter at all. But that would presuppose that their organisation, their thinking, their propaganda and their actions in the past had all been fundamentally different from what in fact they have been.

In the last resort they accepted de Gaulle because, like the British Labour Party and Trade Unions which rallied round their "enemy" Churchill in 1940, many of de Gaulle's capitalist aims are acceptable to them. De Gaulle stands for French patriotism and "greatness," so do they—almost their last act in the Assembly before they changed sides was to stand singing the Marseillaise, the battle-hymn of French capitalism in its triumph over the old regime, in the French Revolution.

De Gaulle still lives in the atmosphere of the wars against German capitalism—so do they.

De Gaulle stands for a forceful foreign policy as in the Franco-British-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956—so did the French "Socialist" party under its leader Mollet.

They believe not in Socialism, but in Republicanism and patriotism, nationalisation and the reform of capitalism—so does de Gaulle. In his declaration of his aims at a Press Conference on May 19th, he stressed the grounds calculated to appeal to social reformists:—

"I fought the war to win victory for France. But I did it in such a way that it was also the victory of the Republic. I did it with all those without a single exception who willingly wanted to join me. And at their head I restored the Republic to its place. In its name, on its behalf, in conformity with its spirit, my Government accomplished an enormous task of renovation. Political renovation: the granting of the right to vote to women, citizenship given to the Muslims of Algeria, the beginning of an association within the French Union of peoples who formerly depended on us. Economic and social renovation: Nationalisation of the mines, gas, electricity, of the Bank of France, of the main credit institutions, the State-owned Renault car works, works committees, a social insurance organisation on such a scale and in such a way that workers are covered against century-old scourges. . . ." (Times, 20th May, 1958.)

So he went on reminding the workers and their organisations that if what they wanted is reforms of capitalism he was the man who did what they wanted.

The French "Socialist" party supported him before and served in his government, so why not again?

Thus do years of reformist propaganda rise up to mock those who used it. Elements in the British Labour Party fall for the same stuff and for the same reason. Philip Noel-Baker, writing in the Labour journal "Forward" (May 23rd, 1958) joined in the praise for de Gaulle, while reserving judgment as to whether he would succeed in resisting pressure to go in for "Fascist courses." Noel Baker wrote about the General's work for "nationalisation, economic planning and social reform" and ended his article:—

"But, whatever the fears and suspicions of the politicians, de Gaulle is one of the great Frenchmen of the modern age, with matchless courage, and great achievements to his name. I believe that history will judge him to be a writer of the finest modern prose, and, in his instincts, a democrat, and a reformer inspired by a visionary belief in the enduring greatness of his country, France."



"Aren't you Comrade Le—Whatsaname?"

The British Labour Party is divided in its attitude to de Gaulle for the same reason as the French party, with their leader Mr. Gaitskell counselling a waiting attitude and no hasty condemnation of Mollet, while others, including Bevan, taking a line of strong criticism. But neither side is guided by an over-riding Socialist principle, each treats it just as an issue in everyday practical politics.

Mr. Gaitskell in a speech at the conference of the Boilermakers Union at Scarborough paid tribute to de Gaulle's past, hoped he would succeed, and ended by calling on his listeners to express "our support for and solidarity with all those French comrades, whether they voted 'for' or 'against' de Gaulle, who are striving to preserve the democratic system and to resist the continuing threat of Fascist dictatorship" (Daily Telegraph, 4/6/58).

What will de Gaulle's efforts aim to achieve and actually achieve? French capitalism, after losing to England in the Napoleonic wars, the dominance of Europe and the seas of the world, built up a great colonial empire in the later nineteenth century. But, with the rise of the U.S.A and Russia as the two great world powers, with the decline of Europe and, with the emergence of local capitalist dominance in many of her African, Middle East and Far Eastern colonies, French capitalism, as an empire, even more than British capitalism, faces a hazardous battle to avoid relegation to the ranks of second class powers.

Whatever course events may take we have to face the lamentable fact that there does not yet exist in France, any more than in any other country, a united Socialist working class aiming internationally to end capitalism. As facts are, all the rival sections want to do is to play capitalist politics over the question whether French capitalism should be governed in the chaotic manner of the past 20 years or placed under an authoritarian regime with de Gaulle. The French scene presents us with another example of the emptiness of the reformist argument that because most workers are not yet Socialists, only a programme of reforms can unite the workers. Far from being united against de Gaulle they are divided for and against him, and on each wing there are yet other bitter divisions over yet other relatively minor issues. Socialism cannot unite the world's workers now, but in the long run there is no other programme capable of bringing them together, for Socialism and against all the forces of capitalism. H.

AND THEN THE ROOF FELL IN!

The American Slump

THE beginning of a recession is like intoxication: the patient gets worse—but he feels better. British and American capitalism has been looking and feeling better for two years, but now the symptoms are beginning to show. Business has been booming, problems of shortages have been overcome, and for the consumer—with the end of the "sellers'" market, inducements to buy in the form of better quality, better service, better packaging or even lower price: all these have made life seem better and easier.

Buy now and pay later

Since the War the credit buying was expanded greatly in this country, but it has never reached United States proportions. The legal restriction on hire purchase trading that we have here (minimum deposits, etc.) does not apply in the U.S., and consequently, as selling became more difficult, "easier and easier" credit terms were offered. Not only is credit buying respectable in America, but almost a national custom. Whatever the income range—from the lowest paid to those executives whose blood pressure would suffer considerably at the thought that they were "workers"—all buy houses, cars (a new one every year if possible), refrigerators, holidays, and all the gimmicks of the American Way of Life, on credit.

There is also a growing inability and reluctance to repair anything. When that brand new car—or fridge—or house—starts giving trouble, well then, just throw it away and buy another one. Last year *Time* magazine, which usually has on its cover the effigy of a Great Man (or film star), featured "The American Repair Man," and the article dealing with the cover story showed in amusing detail the situation of the American worker, surrounded by mechanical appliances which would save him a lot of labour if only he could get them to work again.

Throw it away!

But, of course, the advertisers have the answer: buy another one. Buy this year's model: be in the fashion: your old green refrigerator is out of date—red is the colour this year!

In fact, there is only one thing wrong with buying on credit, and that is that you have to pay for it even if it is later rather than sooner, and this is rapidly being brought home to those millions of Americans who are now unemployed.

Unemployment

The present situation in America is that there are over three million drawing unemployment benefit. The actual number of unemployed exceeds this figure, since the benefit only lasts for a maximum period of 39 weeks and many have been out of work long enough to be now disqualified. This puts them "on relief," paid for by their city, and they come out of the statistics of "unemployed." Arising from this lack of work (and consequently, lack of pay) the furniture and other items bought on credit are being repossessed by the sellers, mortgages are in many cases being held over temporarily and stealing of food from self-service stores has increased noticeably in those towns that have been forcibly hit by unemployment.

The "land of opportunity" is receding for the unem-

ployed worker whose home and way of life is in danger. Suddenly, the insecurity of capitalism is made real.

This problem will be aggravated since we learnt recently that the American car factories are shortly to shut down production of 1958 models for several months to give dealers time to sell 760,000 1958 cars now unsold. The industry always shuts down every year in order to retool for the next year's cars, but this year the closure has been brought forward many months.

Too Much

Everywhere the terrible cry goes up—surpluses. Too much food, bumper crops; too much oil; too many cars and other goods on the market: too much production of raw materials from South America and Asia, causing world prices of raw materials to drop drastically: too many unemployed, not able on the benefit to buy more of these commodities and seeing those that they have "bought" taken back by the finance companies.

Add to this catalogue the statement by Mr. Khrushchev last November: "We declare war on you in the peaceful field of trade." Thus Russia, a new competitor, enters world capitalism on a large scale as a rival to the older established powers.

Capitalism's Answer

What is the answer? In May there was a meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board in New York at which economic and business experts gave their remedies. Cut taxes to encourage business they say: but the man on relief does not pay taxes and has not business been "encouraged" too much? Produce better values, they say; but the man on relief (or in danger of it) will be unable to buy anything other than necessities, good or bad value. Bring back the lost art of selling, they say: but again, if you haven't got the money you can't buy, no matter how slick the salesman. Introduce high tariffs against foreign imports? but that will only aggravate the bankruptcy of countries like Bolivia, Chile, Indonesia and others, and will have a profound effect on countries like Britain, which depends largely on car exports to the U.S. It has been estimated that a 4 per cent. drop in key prices in undeveloped lands cancels out all the funds supplied by the United States in economic aid. In many cases the drop has already exceeded that amount.

It may seem strange that those who support capitalism most volubly—including those workers now unemployed—are those who understand its workings least. Or perhaps it is not so surprising since if they did understand it, would they still support it? See the great surprise of the American worker who finds it hard to realise that all that bustling prosperity founded upon these great factories—such permanent things—all this should suddenly collapse into what is now politely called a "recession." A recession, mark you, that shows no signs of getting better yet. The National Industrial Conference Board which met in New York this month (referred to above) received a "report from businessmen pointing to a further decline in spending for plant expansion that will last into 1959." And recently a top

building-industry economist, speaking to the New York Society of Security Analysts said that the recession will last "through 1960."

Our Criticism

Socialists are opposed to capitalism and we are opposed because we *do* understand the basic workings of the system. The broad cycle of slump and boom will continue due to the basis on which production rests. This basis, this "incentive" that is thought so admirable by anti-Socialists, is the competitive urge to profit. But this incentive can work both ways—if the production of a commodity does not appear profitable, then it will not normally be produced. On the other hand, distribution has no relation to the needs of people but only to the ability or otherwise to pay the price.

Generally the picture of the world commodity market today—of which America is only a more dramatic example—is of too many goods unsold, in store, production being restricted. And, at the same time, too many people needing those goods and without the money to buy them.

WORLD WORTH WHILE

(Reproduction of a leaflet issue by the Socialist Party of Canada.)

THE average person will endure hardships, even dangers, in a cause that he believes to be worthy. But he does not resign himself to a lifetime of such conditions. He wants to experience the more pleasant things of life. He wants to live in a spacious well-furnished home; strongly constructed and free from the clutches of banks and mortgage companies. He wants his family to be properly fed and clothed and provided with the things they need. He wants freedom and opportunity to expand his mental and physical capabilities in the directions of his choice. He wants peace, security and the happiness that the potentialities of the modern world can make possible.

How modest these desires are, yet how far from the grasp of the average person! Those who guide the affairs of the world are overwhelming in their assurances that no aim is closer to their hearts, that no goal receives more careful thought. But—ah, that fatal but!—there are so many obstacles that stand in the way, so many things that have to be done first. There are depressions to be offset or overcome, trade agreements to be signed, international problems to be solved. There are billions of dollars worth of satellites to be sent spinning into space, billions of dollars worth of atom bombs and guided missiles to be perfected and stockpiled, freedoms to be preserved, mighty creations of man to be destroyed, rebuilt and destroyed again. There are so many things that have to be done—first.

No crisis or emergency is so great as to prevent the flow of luxuries into the possession of the idle class, the capitalist class. Only the wealth producers have to wait for the ending of the current depression, war, or other disaster before there is enough for them. Always there are obstacles, never-ending obstacles. Never can the statesmen say, "You have produced abundance. It shall be yours." The best that even the greatest of them can say is that *none shall starve*, and even this is said with

It's Falling

This is always the picture in capitalism and is only brought out more clearly when, as at the present time, there is a growing world recession. To those who support capitalism, this system of fake individualism, financial enterprise and dog-eat-dog competition, we say, this world as you see it now is the society that you perpetuate.

We say further that this is not necessary. The energy and enterprise that goes into attempts to solve insoluble problems and to stabilise an unstable system, and the techniques of production that produced these vast crisis-making surpluses—all these could be used perfectly well for the benefit of the whole community, in a society where goods were made to satisfy peoples' needs and not for the profit of the producers.

With Socialism, economic security would be a reality.

As one of the unemployed said, in Bristol, Connecticut, where now nearly one worker in four is unemployed: "It seemed set to last for ever, and then the roof fell in."

L. B.

reservations. Modern man lives under the capitalist order of society, and capitalism cannot be made to operate in such a way as to benefit all.

The workers today live steadily in the shadow of want and terror. They don't have to. There is no law of the universe condemning them to live in this way perpetually. The evils of the modern world arise from the class ownership of the productive agencies. They can be ended, at any time the workers choose, by changing these agencies from the possession of a class to the possession of society. Not the government ownership of "public utilities" or "basic industries," which is of no practical value to society, but the common ownership of all the means for producing and distributing the needs of life.

A change of this kind does not convert stockholders into bondholders. It puts an end to stockholders and bondholders and transforms the beneficiaries of both these forms of parasitism into wealth producers. It ends the production of goods to be sold on the world's markets at a profit and institutes the production of goods to be made freely available to all. It means the ending of profit in all its forms, the ending of the local, national and international antagonisms engendered by the quest for profit and so the ending of war, the struggles for military supremacy, the building of hydrogen bombs, guided missiles and all the other terrible things man has devised to destroy man. It means the passing of the foul propagandist activities of the huge publicity agencies, the educators and moralists, whose function it is to guide the workers in ways designed to preserve their enslavement. It means the liberation of human thought and the sources of knowledge. It means the ending of crime, since crime is rooted in a class divided society that will come to an end in a sane world.

Common ownership means the release from their present occupations of the judges, the jailers, the clerks

of the court, the lawyers, the politicians, the bankers, the profit counters, the butlers, the valets and boot-polishers, and their transformation, along with the armed forces, the producers of munitions and all others engaged in socially unnecessary activities, into producers of things that will add to the comfort and pleasure of all.

It means the ending of the struggle between Capital and Labour over the division of the wealth produced by

Labour, and it means the ending of Capital and Labour as class entities and the merging of these classes into a family of humans intent on making life worth living.

It means the ending of the system of society in which the mass of people are deprived of the fruits of their labour and the establishment of a system in which poverty will give place to plenty, privilege to equality, slavery to freedom. It means a world worth while. It means Socialism.

THE MIND IN CHAINS

Censorship and Society

PERHAPS the commonest of all traditions in a parliamentary democracy is that a law can be passed to put anything right. "It ought to be stopped" is the expression of most people's belief that somehow a statute can be got up that will check greed, prevent cruelty, or end any of a thousand kinds of nastiness. There is remarkably little evidence for this; only a few months ago Sir John Wolfenden's committee reported the impossibility of making laws to deal with prostitution, and modern history is full of unsuccessful attempts to put down social problems by law.

Even where laws do seem to have succeeded, usually the real factor has been something quite different. The decline of gangsterism in America was due less to legislation than to a change from the social climate which produced so many gangsters; similarly, the probable suppression of fox- and stag-hunting in this country will barely anticipate the death from natural causes of what have ceased to be the upper-class sports.

In the last few years, attention has been repeatedly drawn to the censorship laws. They were in fact extended three years ago by the Children and Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act—the "Horror Comics" Act; now there is the report of the Select Committee on Obscene Publications, making recommendations for the consolidation and extension of existing laws.

Most of the Committee's proposals reiterate those of the draft Obscene Publications Bill which had its first reading in Parliament in 1955 and now awaits further presentation. Briefly, they aim at clarifying the law and removing anomalies so that first, "serious" works may be better distinguished from others, and second, things may be made hotter for the others. Because the emphasis has been on the possible benefit to works of art, the proposals have been viewed favourably all round; the fact remains that they are for an extension, not a relaxation, of the censorship.

Is there any harm in that? The "considerable and lucrative trade in pornography" of which the Committee speaks is a pretty squalid business, and few people would be sorry for its disappearance. The basis of censorship lies much deeper than that. Its function is to suppress anything which seems potentially harmful to the established order. In our society, it concerns itself with three main threats to the régime: subversion of the state, of religion, and of the monogamous sex pattern.

Apart from the legal prohibitions imposed directly by the state, there are a number of subsidiary censorships to the same end: for example, the exclusion of non-



régime views by the broadcasting and television monopolies, the film censorship, and the withholding of news by the press. There is, too, the simple censorship of price: statutes are scarcely needed to restrict the circulation of five-guinea books.

State censorship in this country dates from the granting of the Stationers' Company's charter in 1556, giving the Company a monopoly of printing and charging them with the suppression of seditious and heretical works. Under this and the various other licensing acts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the censorship was concerned with religion and the state, and hardly at all with sexual morals.

"Obscenity" did not enter the Common Law until the eighteenth century; even the attack on the Restoration comedies was political much more than it was moral. The first moves towards censorship in this direction were made as the middle-class reading public grew, and its real establishment came with the Industrial Revolution and the puritanical religious movements which followed the new-born industrial working class into the towns.

The big drive was promoted by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, an offshoot of the Evangelical Movement founded in 1802 (Sydney Smith called it "a society for suppressing the vices of persons whose incomes do not exceed £500 p.a."). Among its members were Shakespeare's "collaborator" John Bowdler, Hannah More, Dr. Wilberforce, and Keate, the flogging head of Eton. Its chief concerns were profanation of the Lord's Day, blasphemy, disorderly houses, fortune-telling and obscene books.

The pornography trade did rise and thrive in the nineteenth century. Its centre in London was Holywell Street—then by the Strand, now demolished—where, according to contemporary accounts, the sale of all kinds of pornography flourished openly. Apart from the flood of books and pictures there were several magazines explicitly given to homosexuality, flagellation, and so on: some with such innocent titles as the *Rambler's Magazine* and *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*.

The first major legislation on the subject was Lord Campbell's Obscene Publications Act of 1857; this, in fact, together with supplementary items from various other statutes, is the law under which the censorship works today. On its introduction it was vigorously opposed in Parliament by members of the upper class who believed enough in *laissez-faire* to hold that morals were a personal matter (including some who had erotic libraries of their own: see Cyril Pearl's *Girl With the Swansdown Seat*).

The legal application of Campbell's Act was given eleven years later by Chief Justice Cockburn. In his judgment of an over-zealous anti-Catholic pamphlet called *The Confessional Unmasked* he uttered the famous definition of obscenity which has been accepted by judges ever since: "The test of obscenity is whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall."

In this century a number of factors have given novelists reason to assume a wider scope than they had before. The spread of psychological teachings that emphasise sex as a mainspring of behaviour; the decline of the family from the Victorian ideal; the effects of two world wars (war novels, indeed, seem to enjoy impunity in laying on the sex and the swear-words). The result has been a series of prosecutions extending from Wells's *Ann Veronica* in 1909 to the recent crop involving *Julia*, *The Philanderer*, *September in Quinze*, *The Image and the Search* and *The Man in Control*.

The lawmakers' dilemma now is to re-frame censorship so as to admit the changes in morality and, at the same time, keep out the undesirable. The difficulty of doing this is obvious. It means, in effect, that some kinds of frankness and even obscenity are useful to our society (both *The Philanderer* and *The Image and the Search* are, in fact, heavily moral books) and some harmful: the trouble is finding a yardstick.

Several people pointed out the same thing in the "horror comics" agitation—a *Daily Mail* editorial, for example, remarked that the news pictures of Mussolini hanging rivalled anything Dr. Wertheim had found. And on the point of obscenity, the *News of the World* on May 25th had an interesting paragraph in the report of a photographer's case: "Asked . . . if he had ever taken an improper photograph, he replied: 'Yes—once during the war for the Foreign Office. I believe it was for propaganda purposes'."

An enormous amount of pornography, and stuff that is very near to it, does serve the interests of Capitalism. How about the nasty dreams of sexual irresponsibility that have been the films' great stock-in-trade for thirty years, and have helped replace religion as the opium of the people? Or the dirty fantasies that are provoked

to sell anything from sedatives to soap? Or the pornography of wartime, sanctified because it spurs on our gallant boys and shows what beasts the other side are?

That does not condone the back-street pornography trade, of course. Apart from the stuff detailed in the police statement to the Select Committee—a good deal of which is sold openly at shop counters, despite what the police say about the difficulty of obtaining evidence of sale—there is a considerable trade in near-pornographic books and pictures. The vital part of the near-pornographer's art is to accurately assess the changing wind, and much of his business is done by post and advertized in likely magazines: "Young Lady Photographer can supply unusual studies to private collectors, send s.a.e.", etc.

What all this shows is the need, not for more censorship, but for something to be done about the world in which these stupid trades can flourish. Most of the matter in question is miserable rubbish, but its real authors are the people to whom Capitalism must be doing something bad: how frustrated must one be to pay the pornographer's price for a second-hand sexual thrill? Here is the condemnation of censorship—that it aims to protect and perpetuate the social order which causes so much of frustration and unsatisfied need.

There is little to show, as the Home Office officials had to tell the Committee, that anyone is "depraved and corrupted" by pornography. Indeed, it becomes harmful when it is legalized and used for economic and political ends like fomenting hatred in wartime. The censors, the magistrates, the policemen and the members of the Public Morality Council do not seem to be transformed into satyrs by all that they see. This is one case, in fact, where those who do not care need not be affected. Most people go through life without ever seeing a dirty book or picture, and the common effect on those who see involuntarily is not corruption but revulsion.

On the other hand, the everyday world is full of well-established means to "deprave and corrupt" on which there are no prohibitions. Few things deprave more than the sight of money, or corrupt more than a little power over others. Empires and businesses are built on depravity, and exposing the young to its influence is a statutory requirement under the Education Act.

Whatever one thinks about obscenity, the extension of laws against it means the extension of the State's domination over what people may read and think. And, always, the concern is to secure conformity in the working class. In a prosecution in 1935, a main question which helped lead to suppression was whether the book was "fit and decent for people of the working class to read." The proposed new Obscene Publications Bill has the same regard in asking for, as evidence of obscenity, "evidence, if any, as to the persons to or among whom the said matter was, or was intended, or was likely to be distributed, sold, or offered for sale." And N. St. John-Stewas, in his *Obscenity and the Law*—largely an advocacy of the new Bill—is explicit on the point:

"Publishers certainly act on the presumption that a high-priced book will not be prosecuted, and sometimes produce editions of the same book, one bowdlerised at a low price, and the other unexpurgated at a high one . . . the protection of the mass of the people from the corrupting effects of pornography is not so much class prejudice as a realistic

recognition that the present educational level leaves them open to victimisation."

In other words, the mass of the people don't know what is good for them: an argument which is unfailingly used to support taking away any freedom of choice or expression. Incidentally, Mr. St. John-Stewas devotes six pages immediately following this passage to showing that pornography has no "corrupting effects," and so leaves one to wonder if it isn't "class prejudice" after all.

All censorship should be opposed. Bernard Shaw called it "the intolerance of the community," but he was

mistaken: it is the necessary intolerance of rulers towards any apparent threat to the security or stability of the society they rule. It is not expressed like that, of course—it does not have to be, because while the ideas of the ruling class are dominant most people see them as the "natural" ones.

Nevertheless, it is a weapon against knowledge and thought. In a free and sensible society it could have no place; in the meantime, censorship can be nothing but an impediment to progress towards such a society.

ROBERT COSTER.

A SPIRITED CRITICISM

Strange Manifestations in "Two Worlds"

THE May 17th issue of *Two Worlds*, a weekly Spiritualist paper, carries an article headed "Red Flag Makes Him See Red About Spiritualism." Under this bright, economical title "*Two Worlds* Reporter," makes a vigorous attack on the article "The Sad Religion," in the May SOCIALIST STANDARD.

It is to be expected that Spiritualists, or any other body of people whose beliefs are criticized, should want to defend them. In fact, it is a pity that "*Two Worlds* Reporter" has not defended them. Instead, he directs scorn at the writer: "puerile," "babyish," and so on. His readers are given few or false ideas of the subject-matter of the SOCIALIST STANDARD article, and if there are counter-arguments he never makes them known.

"The Sad Religion" briefly outlined the history, beliefs and practices of Spiritualism. The view it mainly expressed was that Spiritualism rests upon the loneliness and disconsolation of bereaved people, and thus reflects much of the suffering caused by Capitalism's wars and poverty. "*Two Worlds* Reporter" says not a word of any of this, and thereby misleads his readers as to the nature of the article he criticizes.

The article contains the following sentence: "Why, one wonders, are they not all prosecuted and locked up under the Witchcraft Act?" Leaping forward, "*Two Worlds* Reporter" trumpets eagerly: "If he (the writer) had done only elementary research, he would have known that the Witchcraft Act was repealed in 1951." "*Two Worlds* Reporter" should be more cautious. To say without qualification that an Act has been repealed is to convey that what it stood for has been wiped off the books. The fact is that the Witchcraft Act was brought up to date in 1951. The old Act of 1735—"so far as still in force"—was replaced by one called the Fraudulent Mediums Act.

In any case, however, by quoting one sentence in isolation "*Two Worlds* Reporter" again gives his readers a false impression—i.e., that "The Sad Religion" was saying mediums ought to be "locked up under the Witchcraft Act." That is not so. The sentence was simply a reference to a fairly common reaction to Spiritualism, as anyone may see from a reading of the passage in which it occurs.

Most of "*Two Worlds* Reporter's" comments are no replies at all. The writer, "has his own version of

history," he says, and his account is "divorced from the facts"; but he makes no attempt to show wherein that "version" is wrong and what the "facts" are. His remarks about extra-sensory perception are beside the point:—

"Even scientifically conducted experiments in extra-sensory perception are ruled out. According to Coster they just did not happen."

This is misrepresentation, of course; but, more important, it evades the real question. Have the experiments established extra-sensory perception as a fact, verifiable and predictable in the same way as light or sound waves? Of course they haven't—as "*Two Worlds* Reporter" knows.

The same applies to the "fact" that Sir William (Crookes) had himself photographed with the materialised Katie King. This "fact" was not even acceptable to other Spiritualists in its day, which was eighty-four years ago. The Rev. C. Maurice Davies, a member of the British National Association of Spiritualists, described the stagecraft of Katie's appearances in his book *Mystic London*; and added that the behaviour of Sir William gave "the final death blow to my belief that there might be something in the manifestations."

"*Two Worlds* Reporter" takes up the reference to Robert Blatchford as a "sad, aged figure," and says, jeeringly: "If, however, Blatchford had continued to be a materialist, then, of course, his age would have made no difference." Curiously enough, Blatchford first began calling himself "a convinced materialist" when he wrote *More Things in Heaven and Earth*, after he had become a Spiritualist. In his *God and My Neighbour*, an attack on the Churches published in 1904, the term "materialist" is never used. Blatchford calls himself there a Humanist, a Rationalist and an Agnostic: he also says, "I am rather a religious man." His *Merrie England*, first published in 1894, has heavy religious overtones: "God's creatures," etc.

The other main theme of "The Sad Religion," the social rôle of Spiritualism, is summed up by "*Two Worlds* Reporter," thus:—

"He is a very class-conscious writer, who believes that Spiritualism is part of a capitalist plot to serve the interests of the 'ruling classes' and to make the working class submissive! . . . This, of course, may be the doctrine according to Karl Marx.

(Continued on page 109)



OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone: MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

THE BUS STRIKE

It may seem that a strike lasting nearly seven weeks was a high price for the busmen to pay for the relatively small gains they made in the shape of some increase of pay for the men outside central London who at the start were excluded entirely from the offer of 8s. 6d. increase: though even this was noteworthy in face of the adamant attitude of the London Transport Executive. But the heartening demonstration of working class solidarity by the central London men will have achieved much more. The employers and the government were looking at the busmen's struggle as a test case for the wage claims in other, larger, industries. Having seen the hundred per cent. solid strike, they will take note that there is a degree of determination behind the claims that they did not expect.

The T.U.C. comes out of it badly. Having given verbal encouragement to the busmen's claim they were too timid to face the prospect of extending the strike and limited their help to an appeal for financial assistance.

The Government cleverly applied their old class principle, "divide and rule," by detaching the railwaymen from possible involvement in the dispute, with a 3 per cent. wage increase, to be paid for through redundancies and economies. (Readers should turn to another column to see what this journal was saying about Railway Nationalisation 50 years ago.)

Sir John Elliot, chairman of London Transport, showed that a nationalised industry behaves just like employers generally. He was, as he said, being tough, and was apparently prepared to see the buses off the streets till Christmas in order to win. Simultaneously, he announced further contraction of bus services, because they don't pay their way.

Taken all in all the bus strike was a complete demonstration in tangible, painful form, for everyone to see, that under its thin disguise of "Welfare," capitalism has not changed from what it always was, a hard, ruthless social system in which the workers are expected to take what capitalism offers and be beaten down if they try to get more.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

Readers, especially those overseas, may be interested to learn that the old Marx house, his last dwelling place, in London, is now being demolished.

41, Maitland Park, just inside the borders of the Borough of St. Pancras in North West London, and practically on the edge of Hampstead, which was No. 1, Modena Villas, when Marx moved in, on the proceeds of his small legacy from his mother, is now part of a terrace of derelict property.

For years now, the famous room on the first floor, where the great thinker paced the carpet from one corner to the other like a caged lion, wearing a path through it, has been a dangerous structure.

Some of the best and greatest work was written in that room: *The Civil War in France*, the greater part of *Capital*, the *Address of the International Working Men's Association* and the numerous critical and controversial monographs, *Gotha Programme*, *Value, Price and Profit*. (which though delivered verbally, was prepared there) and others.

The first house he moved to on leaving Dean Street Soho, on medical advice, after the death of his son, Edgar, was No. 9, Grafton Terrace, just around the corner.

Here Marx and his numerous family suffered the most desperate privation. Here it was that he underwent the harrowing experiences which all the readers of his biographies know.

From this address came the frantic appeals for help because his children were dying, every piece of decent clothing was at the pawn shop, and butcher, baker, and candlestick-maker, were hammering on the door. Grafton Terrace, for the Marx household, was Heartbreak House.

Even after moving, things were not all that good, although some journalistic work did come from America. However, eventually Engels was able to retire from "filthy commerce" and move to 122, Regents Park Road, making his friend a regular provision and walking the short distance to see him every day. Engel's old house in London is still occupied.

Those interested could take the opportunity now to visit the Marx house before it is finally carted away.

A No. 24 or 21 bus or Primrose Hill station from Euston will land them a few steps away, Engel's old house is a few hundred yards distant.

In this contributor's view, the great experts, in this case the St. Pancras Council and London County Council, are making a grievous blunder. Preserved as a historic monument, Marx's house could be a business proposition, increasing as the years go by.

On the other hand, Marx himself would have been the first to appreciate the inevitability of change.

HORATIO.

A SPIRITED CRITICISM—continued from page 107

but to attempt to apply it to Spiritualism makes it seem more like the doctrine of the Marx Brothers." Where "Two Worlds Reporter" thinks he read about this plot, it is difficult to say. The Socialist criticism of all religious forms, including Spiritualism, is part of the case against Capitalism, in which there is no supposition of conspiracy. Indeed, if capitalists could plot this, presumably they would be able also to plot better things—including how to avoid commercial crises and the destruction of their property in war.

What Socialists argue is that supernatural beliefs, by their promise of a better world beyond the grave, make for acceptance of this world as it is. Because of that, they have always played a large part in maintaining the status quo (if "Two Worlds Reporter" does not believe it he had better look in the history books); and because

FIFTY YEARS AGO

The Uselessness of Railway Nationalisation

GIVEN nationalisation there follows the concentration of traffic, the closing of offices and redundant stations, the abolition of the canvassing and clearing house departments, and, to a large extent, the abolition of the advertisement department, the reduction of trains, etc., etc. In short, the elimination of "waste."

Now the working class under capitalism is not concerned with the elimination of waste The working class must live. To live it must sell its labour-power. Does "waste" increase the demand for labour-power? If so, it is a good thing for the immediate purpose of the

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Summer Provincial Propaganda. It is pleasing to note that extensive arrangements have been made by the Propaganda Committee, Central Organiser and the Provincial Branches and Groups for speakers from London to visit the Provinces this Summer. Comrade James went to Nottingham in June for two weeks and held eight meetings each week in Nottingham, Birmingham, Manchester and Bradford. From July 14th to 19th, Comrade Baldwin is going to Swansea to hold meetings there and in Newport. Comrade Harris of Newport will be available to help and throughout the Summer he will be helping the Comrades who are visiting the area for week-end meetings. Comrades D'Arcy, Grant and May will be doing these meetings, including visits to Bristol, where Comrade Flowers and the Group there are having good meetings on Durdham Downs. The period they hope to cover is from June 8th to July 13th. During August Comrade Young is touring in his vintage caravan and visiting Nottingham, Birmingham, Edinburgh and Dundee, to name some of the towns in his itinerary. An ambitious programme, all round, and no doubt it will prove as successful as the earlier Provincial tours.

Bloomsbury Branch will hold discussions on the first Thursday in each month, commencing September 4th, when Comrade Hardy opens the series with a discussion on Crises. Fuller details will be given in the August

of that, they serve the interests—consciously or otherwise—of those who have a stake in maintaining the status quo, the ruling class.

Finally, "Two Worlds Reporter" complains of the drawing which accompanied "The Sad Religion." He says it isn't funny. One has to admit that it does not compare for sheer uproarious fun with the illustration to "Two Worlds Reporter's" piece. This is a portrait of Mr. Hannen Swaffer who, the writing says, "makes nonsense of critic's charges" by his contention that "Spiritualism and Socialism are two halves of one whole."

Mr. Swaffer is, of course, a supporter of the Labour Party, which has been making nonsense of the word "Socialism" for fifty-odd years. In that light, his contention is probably true.

ROBERT COSTER.

working class.

If any section of the workers is persuaded that in some such reform movement as the nationalisation of the railways there is salvation, it will come to itself in the final reckoning, sick and sorry, with apathy bred of disappointment and despair born of withered hopes. It will be more difficult material for the Socialist leaven to work upon. It will retard the advance of the workers towards the Cooperative Commonwealth that lies at the end of our journeying. It will, until the effect of its painful experience and knowledge of the wasted energies have grown small, be a stumbling block and a rock of offence in our path.

(From the article on "Railway Nationalisation," in the SOCIALIST STANDARD, July, 1908.)



STANDARD. As in the past, no Branch meetings will be held during August by Bloomsbury Branch as Conway Hall closes for that month.

Outdoor Propaganda in London. A list of outdoor meetings is given on another page of this issue and Comrades are urged to note the time and places of meetings and give their support wherever possible.

Comrade Friend of Winnipeg is returning home after a holiday in Britain, and a Social evening was arranged for Comrades to meet him once again at Head Office on Friday, June 13th. Members at home wish him a good journey back to Winnipeg and express their pleasure that he was able to have such a holiday and to re-new contact with Party members in Britain.

P. H.

THEATRE

BLACK ANGER

WHEN we consider racialism, the image that arises almost invariably is one of white prejudice against coloured people. It is as well to be aware that racial antagonism is not one-sided and prejudice of white against coloured or coloured against white are equally reprehensible.

It is on this account that issue must be taken against an otherwise interesting play by the West Indian writer, Barry Rickard, called "Flesh to a Tiger," recently produced at the Royal Court theatre.

The majority of West Indians live in a condition of appalling poverty—the corrugated iron barnyard erected on the stage was a fair presentation of the facts. Now it is all too easy to interpret white prejudice, power and opulence as being the origin of black misery, and see hope and salvation in building the white man's world for themselves.

It is not just that white men oppress black; the cardinal point is that capitalists oppress workers. That the ruling class may happen to be white is not the essential factor. In Mr. Rickard's philosophy—"to the White man the Black is as flesh to a Tiger and as much as the

Deer may look to the Tiger, so the Black to the White—we must build on our own." The European power over the minds and bodies of the West Indians, as depicted in the Christian religion is a monument of evil, in the shadow of which they crawl in awe and fear, under the aegis of a lecherous self-made priest who rules with the white man's insidious power. Now this is the point: the priest and his stooges are black, but it is the white man's religion that they have absorbed like a virus and use to tyrannize their fellow men.

That Christianity is an enemy of the working class we readily accept; not because the white man originally administered it along with the overseer's whip, but because it is a means of subjugation in the hands of the ruling class no matter what its colour and a barrier to working class emancipation. That the white man brought it is again irrelevant.

Racialism is no solution to the problems of West Indian workers, no more than it would be to us. If anyone gains it is only those who want for themselves the rare fruits of capitalism that a few white men enjoy. Why change the colour of your Masters? I. D. J.

VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM AND THOSE WHO WANT IT

It is often said that the "world is full of surprises," but when a split occurs or a new group is formed inside that Super Political Pawn-shop—the Labour Party, nobody is particularly startled.

If the S.P.G.B. did not know its reformist opponents so well, we might have been surprised to learn that a newly formed (or rather resurrected) group inside the Labour Party claims to want "Victory for Socialism." The Socialist Party of Great Britain, it would seem, has a lot to learn, for we were formed in 1904 with the single purpose of establishing Socialism—and without compromise have worked ever since for its victory. Now, after all these years of thinking that Socialism meant a change in the system of society, from the present one of wars and class war, wages and profits, to one where none of these things would exist, a classless world in which goods are produced for use, we discover (via the new group) that Socialism really means—capitalism with smaller bombs and lower rents. This kind of outlook typifies reformists everywhere. They start off not really understanding the significance of the Socialist case, then they dismiss their own misconceptions of Socialism as "futuristic pipe-dreams." In the blind conceit that they know their way, they proceed to carry on the "day to day struggle" of trying to make capitalism with its wage-slavery less burdensome to the working class whose life-blood it sucks. It is a self-evident fact to every Socialist, that the evils which curse the lives of the working class CANNOT be removed within capitalism. If, as the so-called Communist and Labour Parties claim, the problems of slums, insecurity, poverty, wars and slumps, can be got rid of bit by bit, one at a time, there is no need for Socialism. It is the fact that these and other such problems, are part of capitalism that makes Socialism necessary. If on the other hand they claim to know that the one solution is Socialism, then to continue toying with the effects of

capitalism is the depth of stupidity and the height of folly.

Day to Day Capitalism

Rent Acts and hydrogen bombs are the current evils which stir the emotions and fire the slogans of the reformists. Capitalism is so sick that every day brings some fresh manifestation of the need to get rid of it. Ten years ago the reformists were wasting time and energy on now forgotten slogans and campaigns; in ten years' time, who knows what they will be hollering about, except to say that it will be the latest ugly developments of a basically ugly system. If, ten years ago, instead of telling us that Socialism is "a pipe dream," they had made the little effort necessary to understand it and then worked for it, the present fearful mess might never have existed. In trying to solve the day to day problems of capitalism the reformers thus became part of it and only help to prolong its existence—such is the price of ignorance.

The Bitter Truth

In order that anything worthwhile may be achieved it is no use the workers being just anti-Tory. The so-called "Victory for Socialism" crowd and the rest of those who support or belong to the Labour Party are at one in wanting to swing the current anti-Tory mood in the direction of another Labour Government.

It is true that the V.F.S. group claim to be "left wing" and to disagree in some ways with the Labour Party leadership but in a General Election they would be asking you to elect those very "right wing" they claim to oppose, for if another Labour Government is elected it will be these who will take over. They say they want a Labour Government with "sound policy" on peace, wages, rents, and pensions, etc., but they must face the

hard facts of 1945-1951, bearing as they do, indelible witness to the uselessness of Labour Governments to the working class. They are now arguing about H bombs, which are only developments along the line begun by the Labour Government which established Harwell and took the first steps towards this "British" H bomb. It was the Labour Government which started the present arms drive. Under capitalism then as now, armaments come before houses, pensions, or anything else. Pensions and housing troubles are part of the general poverty suffered by the wealth producers. If the workers fail to learn from their past experiences of Labour Governments, they will go on electing strike-breakers and war-planners until the obvious dawns on them and they realise their real position under this system and organise with us to end it.

The various reforms and limited objectives dealt

BOOK REVIEW

THE SOVIET UNION—IN FACTS AND AND FIGURES

WITH a very glossy cover and 215 pages this book (published by *Soviet News*) is ludicrously cheap at 5s. It contains many facts and figures—and some fiction.

Among the facts are: the Soviet Union is the largest country in the world; the population is now 200,200,000, and the capital is Moscow, with 4,839,000 inhabitants. Whilst in the fiction department we are told that the Russian Revolution of 1917 was a "Socialist Revolution"; that "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants"; and that all power in the U.S.S.R. belongs to the working people; and that:—

"The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the Socialist system of economy and the Socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production."—Article 4, Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

But, *The Soviet Union, In Facts and Figures*, gives its readers ample evidence of the non-Socialist character of Soviet society. Ideas, attitudes and many institutions familiar to us in Western Europe and in America are also found in Soviet Russia, and are mentioned with pride in this book. Mention is made of the Armed Forces of the State "to defend the Soviet Union's freedom, independence and security . . ." (p. 157). A large section of the book is given over to the "National Economy"—to the Five-year plans for economic development, capital investment, retail trading, foreign trade with other countries, the U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce, and the like.

Important sections on the Soviet monetary system,

with in this article, are by no means new, but while workers are prepared to waste their time on such things, we must continue to explain their correct nature. All these points and more besides were raised at a discussion the writer attended at the Islington Open Forum a month or two ago, where most of those present supported the "Defeat Socialism" Movement under that other name. Other points, such as Industrial Action, Slogans and Demonstrations Lobbying M.P.'s and Leadership will be dealt with in a later issue, but on this occasion, let us take stock—let us see that attempting to deal purely with the effects of capitalism, its ugly life is prolonged. Movements of whatever name which do not seek the immediate establishment of Socialism (as defined in our Object) whilst they can never really defeat Socialism they certainly help delay it.

H. B.

financial agencies, state budget, budget revenue (including profits in the national economy, taxes, etc.) and information on Soviet banks and credit systems, should be of interest to all readers of this journal.

Much useful information is given on the so-called trade unions of Russia; on the only legal political party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; on public education and scientific development; on literature and art; and on music, the cinema, the theatre and sport. There is also a brief survey of religious organisations, and in the section on the constitutional position of these religious organisations we are told that "The only instances when the Soviet State prohibits the formation of a religious body is if its doctrines or rites are cruel or a menace to society (for example, sects that preach self-torture, sects that call for a struggle against all forms of government, and so forth)." So the Canadian Dukhobors, who are returning to Russia after years of exile from their native land, had better look out!

Although far from telling the whole story, or giving all the facts and figures about the Soviet Union, this book can be recommended, especially to Socialists who are able to read between the lines; and who whilst recognising the great technical advances that have taken place in Russia, do not fall for the "Socialism in Russia" line of Communist mythology!

The Soviet Union In Fact and Figures tells us of a great industrial state, not unlike other great industrial states: and as such is quite a good 5s. worth.

PETER E. NEWELL.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH ARBITRATION?

POLITICIANS and newspaper writers who say that they believe in the principle of the right to strike, but who always condemn workers in this country who come out on strike, are fond of saying that strikes aren't necessary any longer because wage claims can go to arbitration; where, so they say, the claim will receive impartial treatment. As these opponents of strikes are not at all impartial themselves their enthusiasm for arbitration is suspect to start with. But among the workers,

too, especially when a strike puts them to great inconvenience, there is a widespread belief that somehow the arbitration courts are, or ought to be, a substitute for coming out on strike.

The idea is that if you have the right sort of men on the arbitration bodies, and supply them with the right sort of supporting evidence, they will argue it out and reach a "just" solution. But who are the right sort of men and what is a "just" solution? The Tribunals

usually consist of a President (with or without two other "independent" members), assisted by a member drawn from an employers' panel and a member drawn from a workers' panel.

The employers' and workers' members, and the independent members, no doubt, argue from their respective standpoints about the issues presented, and the award or refusal of an award is in the last resort determined by the independent members Tribunals or the President. While it is assumed that the Tribunals work on such conceptions as a "fair" wage and "what the industry can bear," these are meaningless or vague, and individuals can have their own interpretations. The Tribunals are not (though many people think they are) under specific obligation to try constantly to push wages up, or even necessarily to keep them in line with the cost of living. Their essential purpose is to secure the settlement of disputes between employers and workers, with particular regard to the fact that if such disputes are not settled, production may be halted through strikes or lock-outs. Where it is a question of workers claiming higher wages one of the things the Tribunal is in effect considering is what price the employers will have to pay to avoid having their business (and their profits) brought to a standstill by a strike. The determination and intensity of feeling of the workers is therefore a factor in the issue.

From the organised workers' standpoint if arbitration bodies are of any use it is due to the fact that behind the workers' claims is the readiness to strike.

In recent years most wage settlements have been made without arbitration or strikes (though often with the threat of strikes in the background), but these settlements were largely a recognition by the employers of the fact that with rising prices and little unemployment they had to pay more or lose workers to competitors.

Those who oppose all strikes deny that the strike is a necessary weapon for the workers. A case in point was the provincial busmen's strike in July, 1957. The Unions representing the busmen (those employed by the bus companies outside London) demanded an increase of 20s. to bring them more into line with busmen's pay in London. Having been offered only 3s. they determined to strike. The Minister of Labour then referred the dispute to arbitration and the Industrial Disputes Tribunal awarded 11s. The *Daily Telegraph* (July 26th, 1957), which had condemned the strike, maintained that the award proved that the busmen would have got 11s. anyway, and that therefore, "the six-day strike is, and was from the first, headstrong, malicious and unnecessary." Of course, the events proved nothing of the kind. If merely stating a case were all that was required to get an 11s. increase, why did the employers refuse to offer more than 3s.? and can it be doubted that in its purpose of getting the dispute settled the members of the Tribunal had to take into account the fact that the men were so determined in their claim, that they had decided on their strike before the reference to the Tribunal, and were still engaged in it while the Tribunal considered the case?

The workers' victory was rather a vindication of the declaration of Mr. Frank Coyle of the Transport Workers' Union: "I stand by my previous objection to arbitration in any form." (*Daily Herald*, July 17th, 1957. Mr. Coyle made this statement on hearing that the Minister had decided to refer the case to the Tribunal.)

The Role of the Government

But let us not get this matter out of perspective. Arbitration without the readiness to strike is a broken reed, but there are also narrow enough limits to what strikes can do. Strikes cannot always be successful in the aim of getting a wage increase or fighting off a decrease: so much depends on the state of trade and the amount of unemployment. And behind the employers is always the government, with its steady purpose of keeping capitalism going—which means keeping it on a profit-making basis. Many workers fail to see this and expect the government to remain "neutral." After seven years of Conservative government memories have grown dim about what preceded those seven years, and many workers believe that while the present government one-sidedly opposes the workers and wants to keep wages down, things were different under the Labour Government.

Not Different Under Labour Government

Things were not different under Labour Government. The same causes produced the same effects. The obligation to keep capitalism going led the Labour Government to assert the doctrine of "wage restraint," and the Tories have carried it on. The next Labour Government will do the same.

But for those who have forgotten, it was all set down in the Labour Government's "Statement on Personal Incomes, Costs and Prices" of February, 1948. Re-reading that document alongside recent declarations made by the Tories confirms Mr. MacMillan's jibe in the House of Commons on May 8th, 1958, that the statements made by the Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the late Sir Stafford Cripps, "were very similar. One might almost think they were written by the same hand."

The 1948 Statement asked individual employers not to pay wages above agreed rates; asserted that there could be no justification for a general increase of wages (or profits and interest) unless accompanied by a substantial increase in production; denied the claim of workers to have higher wages merely to keep relativity with other workers who had had an increase; declared that the Government would observe those principles in its negotiations with its own employees; urged all who were engaged in negotiations, or "decisions which might result in an increase in wages or other personal incomes" (i.e., the Arbitration Tribunals) not to depart from these principles; and stated firmly that if there was any departure, employers and the nationalised industries could not expect to call on the Government to provide the money or make it available through increased prices. (Just like the recent Government attitude to railwaymen and busmen.)

The 1948 White Paper had one clause saying that if at some future date there was a marked rise in the cost of living the level of wages, etc., would need reconsideration.

As the cost of living was rising more or less continuously the need arose soon enough, but not much more than a year later the Labour Government added another turn to the screw by announcing that there was no case for higher wages *even if the cost of living did increase*. This arose when the Government devalued the pound in 1949, knowing that this would raise the cost of living still further. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the late Sir Stafford Cripps said in the House of Commons (September 27th, 1949):—

"Especially and specifically there can, in our view, be no justification for any section of the members, trying to recoup themselves for any rise in the cost of living due to the altered exchange rate."

All this time, under Labour Government and Tory Government, strikes were continued and will continue.

THE SUPERMARKETS

"Take a basket, please," said a smartly overalled young lady assistant as Writer walked into a supermarket for the first (and last) time in his life. How well lit the place was and what a marvellous display of colour! Could the magician's cave of jewels seem more desirable to Aladdin than this wonderland of good things did to the Writer? Innumerable packets of powdered soup (just add boiling water); tins of ham (no bones with it, just slice it with the knife); meat gravy (just ready to be poured out of the bottle). Even the tinned carrots looked nearly as luscious as ripe peaches, or so the picture indicated. Rich, creamy custard powder and scrumptious cake-mixes (just add tap-water). Savoury cheese wrapped in cellophane already sliced (just remove the wrapper). Food in glass pots simply pleading to be eaten without even water being required, food in transparent bags and in beautiful packets. Could heaven itself be more beckoning? One of these and one of those—into the basket with them. And—certainly some of these other ones and some of those, too. Quick, those over there are good, and these simply can't be left behind. What bliss! And then, finally, the cashier. How much? £3 10s.? Phew! The Writer staggered out with his purchases, although he went in only intending to look around.

Food for thought

But the supermarket also provides food for thought and the question arises as to why the housewife prefers to shop there rather than in the local stores nearer her own home. In shopping at the local store, when her turn to be served comes and she is confronted by a shop-assistant, she has to have her order ready. This means spending time considering what is needed, and if she is likely to be flustered or to forget some of the items when it is her turn to be served, she will have to write out a list. With more married women going out to work, with the increasing complexity of life, and the rising tempo of commercialised distractions as the present system of society develops, it is no wonder that the shopper prefers a supermarket—just walking around choosing at will. According to expert reports this impulse buying has grown every year for the past two decades and has coincided with the growth of self-service shopping. But perhaps the term "choosing at will" is not quite correct, in view of the deep trickery which is commonly practised. On May 18th, 1956, *The New York Times* printed a remarkable interview with Gerald Stahl, executive vice-president of the Package Design Council. He stated: "Psychiatrists say that people have so much to choose from that they want help—they will like the package that hypnotizes them into picking it." He urged food packers to put more hypnosis into their package designing, so that the housewife will stick out her hand for it rather than one of many rivals.

Mr. Stahl has found that it takes the average woman exactly twenty seconds to cover an aisle in a supermarket if she doesn't tarry; so a good package design should

Those who think that the workers' struggles over wages would cease if we had a different sort of government are deluding themselves; as also are those who think that strikes are no longer a necessary weapon of defence for the worker.

H.

hypnotize the woman like a flashlight waved in front of her eyes. Some colours, such as red and yellow, are helpful in creating hypnotic effects. To get the woman to reach and get the package in her hands, designers, he explained, are now using "symbols that have a dreamlike quality." To cite examples of dreamlike quality, he mentioned the mouth-watering frosted cakes that decorate the packages of cake mixes, sizzling steaks, mushrooms frying in butter. The idea is to sell the sizzle rather than the meat. Such illustrations make the woman's imagination leap ahead to the end product.

The Colour Research Institute, which specialises in designing deep-impact packages, won't even send a package out into the field for testing until it has been given ocular or eye-movement tests to show how the consumer's eye will travel over the package on the shelf. This is a gauge of the attention-holding power of the design.

According to Vance Packard in *The Hidden Persuaders*, the Coca-Cola Company made an interesting psychological discovery that customers who paused to refresh themselves at a soft drink counter ended by spending substantially more. In a test where they offered customers free drinks, about 80 per cent. accepted the Cokes, and spent about a £1 more than the average customer. After coming out from work, the prospective shopper needs to relax and in this mood is fair game to any firm with all the know-how of tricks suggested by the psychologist. One can well understand that the working-class housewife with a background of forced economy and trying to make both ends meet can be "caught" by a little extravagance. An American supermarket found that putting a pat of butter on top of each of its better steaks caused sales to soar 15 per cent.

In a trance until pay time

A psychological researcher in America, James Vicary, became curious to know why there had been such a rise in supermarket sales. His suspicion was that perhaps the housewives underwent an increase in tension when confronted with so many possibilities that they were forced into making quick purchases. He set out to find if this was true. He hid a motion-picture camera to record the eye-blink rate of women as they shopped. How fast a person blinks their eyes is supposed to be a good index of the state of his inner tension. The average person, according to Mr. Vicary, normally blinks his eyes about thirty-two times a minute. If he is tense he blinks them more frequently, under extreme tension up to fifty or sixty times a minute. If he is notably relaxed on the other hand his eye-blink rate may drop to a subnormal twenty or less.

Mr. Vicary set up his cameras and started following the ladies as they entered the store. The results were startling, even to him. Their eye-blink rate, instead of going up to indicate mounting tension, went down and down, to a very subnormal fourteen blinks a minute. The ladies fell into what Mr. Vicary calls a hypnoidal trance,

a light kind of trance that, he explains, is the first stage of hypnosis. Mr. Vicary has decided that the main cause of the trance is that the supermarket is packed with products that in former years would have been items that only kings and queens could afford, and here in this fairyland they were available. These havens of plate-glass and chrome, hygiene and

bright lights, the brilliant presentation of merchandise involving the most up-to-date tricks of salesmanship, these things, which together add up to the supermarket—the refuge of the working-class housewife. The very epitome of capitalist society itself seems expressed in the jungle of the supermarket.

F. OFFORD.

"JUVENILE DELINQUENTS" AGAIN!

THAT section of working class youth, which it has become popular to describe as "Juvenile Delinquents" is once more in the news. A leading article entitled "Lawlessness and the Family" appeared in the *Yorkshire Post* of March 27th, expressing concern at the increase in "crimes of violence," said to be more than four times as high in 1956 as in 1938: "Not something which a community which cares for its future health can afford to ignore." The article asked the Government:—

"Is there something in the nature of the society we have built up which encourages a light regard for morals or a 'weakening sense of responsibility'?"

Here the editor has stumbled blindly across a situation his own paper has helped to create! Founded as the *Leeds Intelligence* on July 2nd, 1754, this organ of commercial influence has thus for over 200 years been supporting a buying and selling system of society with its luxury and palaces for the few, but misery, poverty, squalor, slum hovels and "dead end kids" for the masses, together with the wanton destruction of wealth in the military field—all of which is inseparable from a capitalist exploitative system.

Now—54 years after the SOCIALIST STANDARD began its work of exposing the nature of capitalist society, the *Yorkshire Post* is timidly asking a question which was answered in 1904! WE'LL SAY there's "something in the nature" of the society they've built up—and that "something" is the misery and poverty of the mass of humanity in relation to the wealth socially produced, but confiscated by a minority—the capitalist class. When the *Yorkshire Post* talks glibly about "a community which cares for its future health"—how does it reconcile this with its own support of the capitalistic malaise of mental and physical suffering, which as we have already pointed out is inseparable from a commercial system?

The environment and conditions of life of the millions of workers are anything but conducive to a happy, harmonious existence. FAR FROM IT! Sunless narrow streets of living quarters called homes, from which many are glad to escape to the factory! Blitzed sites of rubble as "playgrounds," "bread and marge" and "fish and chips" as food, shoddy clothes and footwear to combat a damp, foggy climate in winter.

In addition to all this there is the domestic strife due to cramped accommodation (the writer himself a victim) or a 9d. bus ride away, the onerous task of "Keeping up with the Jones" on a "shoe string income."

Seeking to strengthen its "case" against "the evil in men's hearts" the *Post* calls to its aid a "star performer," Sir Hartley Shawcross. "Time and again in cases of juvenile offenders," said Sir Hartley yesterday, "one sees that the real offence lies in the home." Follow-

ing Sir Hartley comes the chairman of the Middlesex Sessions, Mr. Ewen Montague. "In many cases it is the parents who should be in the dock." Not a word, mark you—of *environment and conditions of poverty* by these "leading citizens" of capitalism, who choose to ignore the real cause.

When men like Shawcross participate in the administration of the capitalist "Justice" of which they are so proud, it brings to mind, those memorable words of Burns:—

"Oh wad some power
The giftie gie us
To see oursels
As others see us."

For what could be more hypocritical than to exploit the majority of mankind by dispossessing them of their real social inheritance—the crystallised labour power of their own and their forefathers' human energy in its present form of a "vast accumulation of commodities"; hedge round this wealth with state powers of police, etc., and when any of the dispossessed attempt to retrieve a small portion thereof—clap them in "prisons" with a fanfare of trumpets, as they parade their "Goddess" of "Justice" before the eyes of a bewildered populace!

This much vaunted "Justice" of theirs rests on the slogan: "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay" concealing as it does the robbery of those who produce, but do not possess. Even under present conditions, lest any "Juvenile Delinquents" be kidded into a feeling of biological inferiority by Shawcross in the *Yorkshire Post*, we remind them of Oscar Wilde's words: "It is safer to beg than to steal, but it is finer to take than to beg."

Much more important, we remind them that as Socialists we stand for the abolition of the wages system, together with the one-sided "Justice" it supports.

When this is achieved, the chains will fall simultaneously from the whole mass of suffering humanity and there will be no further cause for "Juvenile Delinquents" or for that matter, "Magistrates" sitting in "judgment" over them.

Socialism alone can foster the harmonious and brotherly behaviour of mankind which lies dormant in all of us, awaiting the freedom of expression and fulfilment that will accrue once the revolution has been accomplished.

To that end, we call on our fellow members of the working class to stop voting for the continuity of capitalism and "get moving in OUR direction"—on the "MAIN LINE" to SOCIALISM.

G. R. RUSSELL.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.



OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hackney—Junct. of Hereford
St. and Cheshire St., E.11 ... 11 a.m.
Hyde Park ... 3.30—7 p.m.
East Street
(Walworth) July 6th 11 a.m.
" 13th 12.30 p.m.
" 20th 12.30 p.m.
" 27th 11 a.m.

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS

Gloucester Road ... 8 p.m.
Earls Court ... 8 p.m.
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 p.m.

FRIDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road ... 8 p.m.
Kingston, Castle St. ... 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Finsbury Pavement ... Tuesdays
Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

THURSDAY EVENINGS at 8 p.m.

at

34, ST. GEORGE'S SQUARE, S.W.1.

(Wilcox, top flat)

July 3rd "Leadbelly"

A collection of eight folk songs by Huddle Lidbetter, followed by an informal discussion.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPALS

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Our intentions are to assist, as far as our abilities are competent, the cause which has been so well begun, and which must finally prevail if its advocates persevere with fortitude and consistency. One principle, in particular, we should wish to inculcate, which is, that the people have nothing to expect from any exertions but *their own*. The choice of liberty or slavery rests with them, and on *their* virtue and perseverance depend the probability of their triumph.—(*The Gorgon*, No. 1, May 23rd, 1818.)

WESTERN SOCIALIST

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DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTEMHAM.—Secretary, Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breakey, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. 'Phone: DIDSbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Will members and sympathisers interested in the formation of a group please contact T. Lord, 288, Church Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT.—Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDBILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wella Rd., Pencoelegi, Nr. Llanelly.

BRISTOL MEETINGS

on
DURDHAM DOWNS,
SUNDAYS, 13th, 20th and 27th July
3rd, 10th and 24th August
at 6 p.m.

Members and Sympathisers are urged to assist the
Group by attending early.

PUBLICATION DATE OF
"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

PAMPHLETS

Questions of the Day	1/- (Post free 1/2)
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Russia Since 1917	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Communist Manifesto and the Last Hundred Years	1/- (" " 1/2)
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52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month (July 3rd and 17th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., at 7.30 p.m. No meetings in August.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Thursdays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (or Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELS meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 34, St. George's Square, (Wilcox, top flat) S.W.1. All correspondence to Secretary, c/o H. O., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrook, 51, Plant St., Glasgow E1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (July 2nd, 16th and 30th) at 8 p.m., The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (July 14th and 28th) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivimey, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m., June 4th and 18th, 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbass, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WICKFORD meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m., "Skara Brae," Farm Crescent, Woodham Road, Battlesbridge, Essex. Enquiries to Secretary, L. R. Plummer.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Interwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 'Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at 118, Pelham Road, Wood Green, N. 22.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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Monthly

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The Execution of Imre Nagy

SINCE THE ANNOUNCEMENT on June 17th of the execution of Imre Nagy and his associates, various notables outside the Soviet bloc have hastened to express their opinions on these latest Communist murders. Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords on the 19th June, speaking on behalf of the Conservative Government, welcomed "The opportunity to place on record the horror and indignation which this latest shameful act has aroused." Although these sentiments are, undoubtedly, true, they border on the hypocritical coming from the Tories after their support of two World Wars and many smaller ones; and that the death of four men should induce a feeling of revulsion in the ex-general Eisenhower appears somewhat surprising. Nevertheless, their one-sided wrath at the duplicity of the Communists has aroused members of the working class to demonstrate. Hungarian emigres and Nationals have attacked Soviet Embassies in Germany and Denmark, while Russians have retaliated, in Moscow, at this affront to their "national honour."

Imre Nagy, the central figure, is lamented in the West for his actions during the Hungarian Revolt of 1956. For those workers who consider that his memory is worthy of demonstration or enshrining as a hero in the struggle for emancipation, let us take a closer look at his life and the aims of the 1956 Rebellion.

Born in 1896, Nagy was an apprentice locksmith until his conscription into the Austro-Hungarian army during the First World War. He fought on the Italian and Russian fronts, where he was taken prisoner and sent to Siberia. When the 1917 Revolution began in Russia he fought for the Bolsheviks and took Soviet citizenship in 1918. Returning to Hungary the following year, he was given a minor post in the Bela Kun communist regime. When this was superseded by the Horthy Regency in 1921, Nagy fled to France. He was ordered back soon after and was subsequently arrested. On his release he went to Russia and studied agricultural reform. During the Second World War he was employed on the propaganda Kossuth Radio in Moscow, and when Hungary exchanged the joys of German Capitalism for the delights of the Soviet variety in 1944, Nagy was appointed Minister of Agriculture. "He took an important part in planning and enforcing Communist agrarian reform" (*Times*, 25/8/56). This "reform" entailed the forcible collectivisation of farms and the elimination of any opposition in the usual callous Soviet method.

The year 1953 saw cracks appear in the colonial empire of Russia, culminating in the Berlin Uprising of June. In order to preserve their domination, the Communists began instituting "lenient" policies throughout Eastern Europe. Nagy,

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who enjoyed the mysterious reputation of a "moderate," became Premier in July to implement the policy in Hungary. This position he retained until April, 1955, when he was made a scapegoat for the failure of this policy to satisfy the demands of the Hungarian population and the Soviet war-machine. The ups and downs of Communist political manoeuvring led to his "rehabilitation" in August, 1956, and his formal re-acceptance into the Party on October 14th.

Ten days later, following the outbreak of the Rebellion, he was reinstated as Prime Minister on the demands of sources within the Party in an attempt to placate the insurgents. Nagy's conduct throughout the fighting altered from determined opposition to final support even to the extent of the dissolution of the one-party system, as he was out-manoeuvred by events. His first action on being confirmed in office was to speak over Budapest radio demanding the cessation of the revolt:—"Many misguided workers have turned against the state. I am calling on all Hungarians to be firm against these provocateurs," quoted the *Manchester Guardian* of the 25th October, 1956. The report goes on:—"Therefore we have decided that all who surrender their arms and stop fighting will not be affected by martial law." The next day this paper commented on a later speech:—"The announcement by Mr. Nagy, that Soviet troops would withdraw from the fighting as soon as peace and order were restored, implies a determination to rely on the Russians to the very end."

By the 28th the rebels appeared to be winning and a cease-fire order was given to Government troops. It was also announced that Russian troops were withdrawing. The rebels demanded the following terms from the Nagy Government:—

- (1) The establishment of a democracy of the Western type.
- (2) The free formation of parties of all types.
- (3) Free elections.
- (4) An armistice for the insurgents and complete withdrawal of all Soviet forces.

Nagy, still hoping to retain some vestiges of the Communist dictatorship, side-stepped the first three demands and attempted to placate the Nationalist sentiment of the insurrectionists with his counter-proposals:—

- (1) An armistice for all who took part in the fighting.
- (2) The creation of a new police force based on the Army and workers' and youth groups.
- (3) Dissolution of the Secret Police.
- (4) The reinstatement of the Kossuth coat-of-arms in place of the Communist insignia.
- (5) The restoration of the 15th March as a national holiday.

ABOUT CATHOLICISM

Birmingham.

The Editor,
SOCIALIST STANDARD,
London.

Dear Comrade,

For the first time I have had the pleasure of reading in Socialist literature an acknowledgment of the working-class foundation of the Catholic Church, when your contributor, Robert Coster, in his April article on the Catholic

This date is the anniversary of the Kossuth rebellion of 1848, which was put down by the then Russian Czar.

Sudden developments once again forced Nagy to adopt a different stand, so that on the 30th October, he announced the abolition of the one party system and formed a Government, including Agrarians and Social Democrats. Nagy had thus appeared to have overcome a difficult situation while still retaining the Premiership.

On the 31st October, 1956, Britain and France attacked Suez, forfeiting their "holier than thou" advantage over the Russians. Regrouping its forces the Soviet Union recommenced the occupation of Hungary the following day. By the 4th November the revolt had been ruthlessly crushed and Russian domination was firmly reimposed. Nagy foolishly left the Yugoslav Embassy, where he had taken refuge, after promise of safe-conduct and was imprisoned until his recent execution. (From his long experience, he should have known better than to trust fellow Communists.)

Much speculation has been forthcoming on the identity of the person who requested Russian aid, as he gave them the scant "legality" they required to "justify" their intervention and consequently helped make certain the failure of the rebellion. This call was made on October 24th—the day of Nagy's investiture as Premier. Subsequently it was stated that they were not summoned by Nagy, but by Hegedus, the then Prime Minister, and Geroe, the Party Secretary. Victor Zorgan in the *Manchester Guardian*, of the 31st October, does not appear convinced of the truth of the statement and hints at another reason for its publication. "This, if the population believes it—as it is quite likely to—will greatly enhance Mr. Nagy's shaken prestige and will help him to remain at the head of the government." Whether Nagy enlisted Soviet help or not, as has been shown he was willing to condone its employment.

For workers the conclusion is obvious. Although winning the sympathy of the Western Powers, who will support anything against Soviet interests, Nagy is not worthy of working class commiseration. He was a life-long Communist and was as thoroughly steeped in blood and misery as those who have invariably toed the Party line. While the 1956 Uprising in its widest form would have made no fundamental difference to the workers, its object being to leave the Hungarian capitalist class to exploit them unfettered by the demands of their Soviet counterparts. Their sole gain would have been the ability to cry their grievances unchallenged, but without Socialist knowledge this concession is useless. And the conditions which give rise to dictatorship would still remain.

"ESSIG."

Church Today, states: "The majority of Parish priests are working-class boys who were attending the altar, etc." (and are from the best taggers). To enlarge upon this encouragement I venture to contest some of his premises.

If God did not make him, will he name his Maker, and why he is not subject to the law. That is—if his parents are his creators, why does he survive them; if the elements are responsible for him, how does the variation enter; if he is just a lump of material, why is he not

static. Will he give me the authority of his "supernatural dictum" (one part body, nine parts soul). I have yet to learn this. While he is disputing the Spirit I notice he does not categorically state it does not exist. Will he therefore name any civilisation, empire, regime, nation, organisation, family or partnership (including Marx and Engels), which has come into existence or been maintained without the spirit.

Further, will he explain, as an adherent of Marxism, the phrase attributed to Marx in his famous Opium paragraph the last sentence: "It is the heart in a heartless world" (i.e., religion). Would he also deal with the last few words in one of Engels' prefaces wherein he refers to the "Revolution which began nearly two thousand years ago." I hope he will not attempt to pity the old age or youthful exuberance of Marx and Engels.

I should also like him to give me quotations of either Marx or Engels where they definitely state there is no God or Spirit. In spite of them being exponents of Materialism (not Atheism). I have a faint recollection that they prove God to be the Theo or Thesis, and therefore behind and responsible for all society. Is this not also the conclusion of Frazer's Golden Bough. Perhaps he will deal with and dispose of this monument of priestly defence.

Finally, of all the contradiction in Materialism, will he tell me why reference is made to the Materialistic Conception of History. I can never get at the back of that word Conception. Why don't Materialists stick to Materialistic History without any Conception.

Yours fraternally,

W. DOHERTY.

REPLY

Mr. Doherty asks a number of questions which are, in effect, points of argument against the Socialist attitude to religion, with special reference to the Catholic Church. For clarity's sake, these can be dealt with one by one.

(1) Mr. Doherty should read again the paragraph about priests being working-class boys. The passage in full is:—

"Most of them are as ignorant as those they preach to and believe it all themselves. Every good Catholic family hopes for one of the boys to become a priest. The majority of parish priests are working-class boys who were attending on the altar when they should have been playing tag, who went to Catholic schools, where they learned the Catholic view of history and the Catholic view of science (which, put briefly, is that most science does not exist), and finished off reading devotional works in a bachelor college full of others like themselves."

It is hard to see how Mr. Doherty has inferred from this an "acknowledgement of the working-class foundation of the Catholic Church," unless he thinks that a working-class membership means a working-class foundation. If this is so, he should consider that practically every organization of any size has a working-class membership—simply because most people are workers. The basis or foundation of an organization is the purpose for which it is in being and I note that Mr. Doherty does not contest the statements about this in the article *The Catholic Church Today*.

(2) Who made man, if not God? The evolutionists have answered satisfactorily most of the questions about man's emergence. On the other hand, if Mr. Doherty means, "What is the origin of life?" I claim to know as

much about that as he or any other Christian—i.e., nothing. What I do know, however, is that mankind has had innumerable gods of all kinds, from the Catholic one to Siva and Bacchus, and they have all been the embodiments of man's social needs at various times and in various circumstances. Of God making man there is not a scrap of evidence, but man making God out of his social consciousness is on every page of the history books.

(3) "One part body, nine parts soul." This was a simple indication of where the Catholic Church lays the emphasis when it talks about man. *Vide* the Catechism: *How is your soul like to God?* My soul is like to God because it is a spirit, and is immortal. *Of which must you take most care, your body or your soul?* I must take most care of my soul, for Christ has said, etc. I think my phrase represents the position fairly enough.

(4) Will I name any civilization or organization of any kind which has done without the spirit? Mr. Doherty's talking mystical gibberish. What does he mean?

(5) Will I explain Marx's "heart in a heartless world," and quote some definite repudiation of religion by Marx or Engels? Marx's actual words are: "Religion is the sigh of the hard-pressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, as it is the soul of soulless circumstances. It is the opium of the people." (On Hegel's *Philosophy of Law*.) This hardly needs explaining; it points simply to the rôle of religion in making the working class endure the unendurable. I should say it indicates not old age or youthful exuberance, but maturity and power of thought.

There are several quite clear statements by Marx and Engels on Mr. Doherty's question of "no God, nor spirit." On page 35 of *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Engels says: "The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we belong is the only reality." Marx in Volume I of *Capital*: "The religious world is but the reflex of the real world" (p. 51, Swan Sonnenschein edn.). Incidentally, Mr. F. J. Sheed, a Catholic apologist, has no such doubts as Mr. Doherty's. On page 30 of his *Communism and Man* (Sheed & Ward, 1946), he writes: "Marx's Materialism thus means two things: Realism and Atheism."

(6) Why the Materialist Conception of History? In fact, Engels often—e.g., in *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*—called it Historical Materialism. The important thing, of course, is not the title, but whether Mr. Doherty finds Marx's analysis of history correct or not.

Though if Mr. Doherty is a Catholic, as his letter implies, I'm surprised that he wants to stop a conception.

Yours fraternally,

ROBERT COSTER.

"It must not be thought that explosives are useful only in war: they are extensively used in mining, tunnelling, quarrying, etc. They can be used either for forwarding the work of civilisation, or for destroying men and goods. Chemists know how to prepare them; but their rightful use does not really lie within the sphere of their services."

"They will be used properly only when the community as a whole has developed real social consciousness and raised its public ideals."—"Chemistry," by Professor T. A. Sanarys, London Institute of Education (Oxford University Press, 1945).

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Visit to America and Canada. Plans are being made by our Comrades in the West for an extensive tour for Comrade D'Arcy when he flies to America at the end of August, where he will be a delegate from our Party to the Annual Conference of the World Socialist Party at Boston. Without doubt he will have a very interesting trip if Comrade Gilmac's experiences last year are anything to go by. It is hoped that Comrade D'Arcy will be able to send an interim report for inclusion in the September SOCIALIST STANDARD.

Wickford Branch is in future to be known as Basildon Branch—full details are given in the Directory on the back page.

Mitcham Discussion Group has now been established and is holding regular meetings on the fourth Thursday in each month. In addition, lectures are being held on August 14th and September 11th—details elsewhere in this issue.



Bloomsbury Branch is arranging to hold discussions on the first Thursday in each month at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. The first, on September 4th, at 8.30 p.m., is on Crises. Comrade Hardy will open the discussion.

P. H.

POLITICS

EVERY so often the worker is invited to the polling places to elect a government for the term to follow. At such times he is an important person—the salt of the earth, the backbone of the nation, the mainstay of civilization. With the compliments of this or that political party his baby is kissed, his hand is shaken, his back is slapped, his ego is catered to and the floodgates of oratory are opened to deluge him with emotion-packed words arranged to suggest that they mean something. Whatever his wishes may be—from the distant moon to the lowly carrot—they shall be granted.

It is a beautiful and inspiring sight. Men of stated worth, whose talents and virtues are repeatedly affirmed in all the important journals, imploring that the worker deliver his vote to them. Billboard signs, newspaper advertisements, radio and television programmes, garden parties, mass rallies, volumes of verbiage, all designed to ensure that he does the right thing.

And he does.

Then comes the morning after. The signs are taken down. There is room in the important journals for more sporting news. The candidates congratulate each other. The oratory is ended. The babies are unknissed except by their mothers. The moon fades with the dawn, but still hangs high. The carrots remain in the stalls. And the worker turns up on the job at the usual time to continue the business of working for wages.

All is normal again and one of the contending political parties has received a mandate from the electorate to keep it that way.

That's how it goes. Lower income taxes become a substitute for higher wages. Increased old age pensions struggle to keep up with higher prices. A national health plan takes the place of local and company plans. Measures of little merit replace measures of little merit.

It doesn't matter what condition the world is in.

There may be a boom, a depression, or a war. There may be masses of people overworked, underfed, or dying violently. There is no shortage of politicians, amply provided with funds, preying on the gullibility of the populace by insisting that there is nothing wrong with society that cannot be cured by a little patchwork here and there. They may make their appeals to "the People," or to "Labour." They may in some cases believe the things they say and they may if elected bring into effect some of their promises. But however impressive and down to earth their efforts may seem, they never succeed in making the existing system of society fit to live in except to the parasite class and their principle protectors and bootlickers.

The game of politics, for all the sham, the vaudeville, the bombast, the empty promises so often associated with it, is a serious game. Vast sums of money are poured into it and these sums are not provided by the workers. The workers are not usually well supplied with spare cash and they are not in any case very much interested in politics. Their interest is limited mainly to giving ear to the commotion created at election time and deciding in favour of the candidates they think have given the best performance. The vast sums of money that are used to din from all directions the superiority of certain programmes, policies and candidates are provided by the property-owning class, the capitalist class, and they are not provided because of any thought that in this way the interests of society may best be served; they are provided in the expectation that only their own interests will be served, even though these come into serious conflict with the interests of society.

The capitalists have special material interests that cause them to have differences among themselves and these differences result in the experience of two or more political parties in most countries. But in one thing above all others they are united and that is in their support of parties that stand first of all for the continued existence

of capitalism. They are prepared to sanction a generous outlay of attractive promises and political horseplay for the approval of the workers, since it is necessary that this approval be obtained, but whatever the politicians do to get themselves elected they cannot hope to retain the support of the capitalists if they allow the suggestion to enter into their activities that capitalism is not the best of all possible systems of society. Needless to say, they are careful to protect their sources of campaign funds.

From all this it must be clear that the capitalists are far more aware of the importance of political action than are the workers. They sponsor and finance vast campaigns to ensure that governments are formed that will protect their privileged position. So great is their interest that in all modern nations they control not only the government, but also the greater part of the opposition. This leaves the workers with little of prominence to choose from other than the various parties which, with slight differences dictated by sectional capitalist interests, all represent the capitalist class. But there is an alternative. It is not necessary for the workers to continue supporting

parties that represent interests opposed to their own. They can when they choose look beyond the noise and deceit that draw their attention at present. It will require some interest in politics. It will require some thought and study—far more than is now shown. But every moment of it will be worth the effort, for it leads unerringly toward a system of society that will rid mankind at once and for all time of the terrors and uncertainties that are so much a part of working class life under capitalism.

Socialism is the alternative. Its introduction means a change that will make the world a fit place for humans to live in. Most people today oppose Socialism because they do not understand it and are influenced by the sneers and misrepresentations instigated by the beneficiaries of present society. Study and knowledge will change that attitude and will teach the workers that capitalism is not worthy of support no matter what party speaks in its name; that for them only Socialism is worthy of support and Socialism is represented only by the Socialist Party.

(Leaflet published by the Socialist Party of Canada.)

AGE WITHOUT WISDOM

Workers Who Still Have Capitalist Ideas

AS time passes the trade unions, and the Labour parties, become older and their policies change, but without any noticeable sign of having learned by experience.

These remarks are prompted by two recent events that would have appeared surprising 50 years ago. Earlier this year New Zealand farmers complained that they were selling less butter in this country because of cheaper butter coming on the market from several exporting countries, including Finland, Argentine and Ireland. After some delay the Government announced in the House of Commons on June 19th that they had approached the governments concerned and had got them to agree to reduce their deliveries of butter where this was not already happening. It was done deliberately to help the New Zealand exporters, although it meant that the price of butter here would go up. The first somewhat surprising event was that the T.U.C. supported the idea of helping New Zealand:—"We decided to tell the President of the Board of Trade that we supported the New Zealand government's request for anti-dumping duties." (T.U.C. Report in *What the T.U.C. is Doing*, Page 38.)

At the same time the Lancashire cotton manufacturers and the textile unions were pressing the government to help the depressed Lancashire cotton industry by restricting cheap imports from Hong Kong, India and elsewhere. And in the House of Commons on June 19th the Labour M.P. for the Lancashire constituency of Westhoughton, Mr. J. T. Price, asked:—

"Whilst the House will be quite pleased with the action taken by the right hon. gentlemen's Ministry in dealing with this stabilisation of butter prices and checking the unlimited import of very cheap butter at subsidised rates, why is not the Ministry also prepared to take similar action on behalf of Lancashire cotton, which it has just turned down?"

Here we see the T.U.C. and Labour Party opposing Free Trade and supporting restrictions on imports. Yet at the Trades Union Congress in 1904 a strongly worded resolution was carried (by no means the first, or last)

affirming that "any departure from the principles of Free Trade would be detrimental to the interests of the working classes." The resolution named as the chief evil result of departing from Free Trade that Protection would increase "the cost of the people's necessities."

About the same time the Labour Party was declaring its staunch adherence to Free Trade, and Mr. Francis Williams in his *Fifty Years March* recorded that at the 1906 General Election the Labour Party "saw eye to eye with the Liberals" on the dominant issue of the election, "the issue of Free Trade or Protection." (Page 155.)

That trade union and Labour Party policy of support for Free Trade in order to get low prices for food and other articles derived from the agitation of the early nineteenth century. It was led and financed by the British cotton and other manufacturers and ended with the abolition of the Corn Laws and other protective laws, and turned Britain into a free trade country. The employers (who were interested in low prices, because that would enable them to pay low wages and make large profits) persuaded the workers that low prices would be in their interests. Apart from the agricultural workers who saw their jobs disappearing, most workers accepted the employers' argument and thought that they had won a great victory, so for nearly a century the trade unions and later on the Labour Party were mostly free-traders, though this did not prevent workers in particular industries that were hit by foreign competition from taking a different view: just as today, while the T.U.C. and the Labour Party agree in demanding lower prices they do not think it very odd when the miners favour dearer coal; transport workers, higher fares; and agricultural workers, dearer food.

The same confusion exists among workers in other countries and shows itself at international gatherings. The textile workers in Hongkong and India are not at all perturbed about the troubles of Lancashire, and the workers in Ireland and the Argentine are not impressed

by arguments about the danger that if New Zealand farmers' incomes fall, they will not be able to buy British motor cars and other manufactures.

The policies, always dealing only with the surface of things, change, but do not become sounder and wiser. The fact is that the trade unions and Labour parties are not international workers' organisations trying to better the conditions of the working class everywhere, but sectional and national bodies viewing the world in the light of what they imagine to be their interests as workers in a particular trade in a particular country: they identify their interests with those of their employers.

And, of course, they are quite wrong. They do not constitute a united movement of hope progressing towards a new, better social order, but fractional bodies fighting against each other and with their policies determined for them by the rivalries of capitalist industries and capitalist national groups.

BOOK REVIEW

"IN THE TWILIGHT OF SOCIALISM" — Joseph Buttinger

Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London

577 pp 25/- 1953

THE Socialist Party has always maintained that the Labour and Social-Democratic parties were useless for the purpose of introducing Socialism. We saw that their reformist programmes would permit them to enact measures of reform and no more and that to enact their puny reforms these parties would be forced to co-operate openly with capitalist governments, or would have to form governments themselves. In either case they would be involved in the administration of the Capitalist system.

We saw further that the voters and members behind these parties lacked political knowledge and were befogged by pro-capitalist illusions, such as the necessity for Leaders, the impartiality of the State, the permanency of the Wages System, etc., in short, the boasted strength of these parties was but a sign of their fatal weakness. Since their massive support was fugitive in nature it could only be kept by pandering to the backwardness and the prejudices of the supporters; thus the progress in numbers was but the building up of political inertia. An inertia that could not be overcome by brilliant or forceful leadership, since the leaders that would be permitted to rise would be precisely those who most faithfully corresponded to the needs of these backward masses.

From the very foundation of our Party we were able to demonstrate that unenlightened, reform-seeking masses were unfitted for the Revolutionary Act and the years that have passed since then have piled up proofs of the accuracy of this Socialist analysis. Further proof of the soundness of our position is provided by Joseph Buttinger (alias Gustav Richter) in his *Twilight of Socialism*.

In this work, sub-titled, "A History of the Revolutionary Socialists of Austria," we have an absorbing and highly detailed account of the Social Democracy of Austria, from the formation of the Dollfus Government in 1932 until the early post-war period. The bulk of this book deals, therefore, with the impact of Austrian and German Fascism on the Social Democrats and with the

They can see that the capitalist world does not provide abundance, security and peace for the peoples of the world; that it cannot even secure that surpluses of food in U.S.A., Canada, Australia and other countries, shall be made available to the half-starved millions of the world. They can see, too, that unsaleable surpluses are a positive evil in causing unemployment. Yet all they do is to try to solve these problems within the framework of capitalism. They have tinkered with useless remedies for upwards of a century and have got nowhere.

Recognition of and action on the simple principle that the workers in all countries have a common interest against the employing class, and the logical further recognition that it is in the interest of the workers to abolish capitalism and establish Socialism would revolutionise the home and international scene: but with all their experience of the uselessness of Free Trade and of Protection this is the one thing they are still unable to see. H.

bodies they set up in exile and underground.

After 1918, we learn, the Austrian Social Democratic Party grew to be a "mass organisation of unique size and vigour," so much so that when in March, 1924, the police announced the ban on Social Democratic bodies, they could list no less than fifteen hundred associations as falling under this ban. Here Buttinger, himself one of the two top leaders of the Social Democrats during their underground period, gives an account of the nebulous basis on which this giant party grew. "Its broad organisational structure had room for all trades and professions. It enabled all ages to organise their entertainment requirements, their educational plans, their purposes in life, their cultural desires, their hobbies, even their follies, and to fuse them 'ideologically' with the aims of the party, in serious or ridiculous fashion. Labourers and Bohemians, white-collar workers and moral reformers, winegrowers and teetotallers, soldiers and nurses, physicians and prison guards, lawyers and policemen, writers and innkeepers, newspapermen and rabbit-breeders, actors and generals, educators and acrobats, philosophers and football players, boy scouts and free thinkers, Catholics and nudists, economists and psychiatrists, pacifists and arms smugglers, stamp collectors and funeral orators were what they were, and they did what they did, not as such but 'ideologically'—in the real or imagined behalf of the party and 'Socialism'." (Page 21.)

When Dollfus moved against the Social Democrats and arrested their leaders (and here it was the possession of arms by the Social Democratic Defence League that provided him with the pretext for action), the impotence of masses who, lacking political understanding, had left their thinking to leaders, became at once obvious. Dealing with the leaderless, disorientated Social Democrats Buttinger says that, "All their lives, these people had experienced political events through their work for the party, had acted in line with party directives, and thought only in a fixed framework of party doctrines. Now was

the moment when they most urgently needed the voice of party authority—and now, for the first time in their lives, it was mute. The members ran to their organisers, the minor officials to intermediate ones—who were helpless, for they, too, were given to functioning in line with revelations furnished for every event by the supreme authorities of the party, and now these revelations failed to arrive." (Page 29.)

Buttinger sums up the pathetic plight of these people thus, "It was not the weakness of their social philosophy, but a lack of insight, determination and strength, to take responsibility . . . that brought about the sudden helplessness of thousands. . . ." If by 'social philosophy' the author means those vague yearnings for a better form of life that are present in the 'Labour' movements, and the criticisms in this book seem to confirm that this is his meaning, then we can agree with him, for 'insight, determination and the strength to take responsibility,' are exactly the qualities that our class needs in order to emancipate itself, and it is only on the basis of Socialist Consciousness that such qualities can arise. Hence our insistence on the need for understanding.

This book is a moving and tragic history of workers so saturated with the ideas of the ruling class and so confused by the failures of their reformist movements, that instead of seeing that their destinies lay in their own hands, they approved of the very system that thwarted and warped their lives, even to the extent of surrendering what democratic institutions they had and embracing Fascism. It is a history of worker against worker, but because it is History, it is something we can draw strength from in the struggle to unite worker with worker. Properly used, the lessons drawn from this and other chapters of working class history, can help non-socialist workers to rid themselves of their induced servility, and their immature need for guidance from above.

The author himself has learnt and is still willing to learn, as he makes clear in his last pages. His final

political position is not too clear cut, but then he admits that he is still trying to clarify his ideas. He declares that he still adheres to basic Socialist ideas, but rejects the view that the mass 'Labour' movements are the guardians of these ideas, and for him, "Socialism is no longer advanced by the Socialist Party (of Austria)." On nationalisation his 'new spirit' of enquiry, "no longer reliably told him whether nationalisation of key industries was necessarily already a step on the road to Socialism." He is convinced, however, that "the policies of Leon Blum or Clement Attlee were wrong." He confesses that he is, "unable to reach reliable conclusions about Soviet economy, the social structures of the new Russia," what he does find, nevertheless, is that the Soviet system, "Retained the most objectionable characteristics of the capitalist system." He is convinced, "That Soviet society was no Socialist society. Soviet Socialism, to him was no more genuine than the democracy claimed by Stalin's regime." The view that the Soviet dictatorship is the inevitable result of "Marxist doctrines," he finds contemptible.

Of the claims that the last war would bring freedom and justice to the world he has this to say, "At best a restoration of pre-Hitler conditions in parts of Europe could be expected, which meant the restoration of all the evil conditions and contradictions which made Hitler and the war possible."

The book ends with Buttinger looking for a new way to Socialism, that is one distinct from the futile paths trodden by the Leninists and the Social-Democrats, but whether or not he will discover his 'new way' to be in fact the old and only way as pioneered by our Companion Parties, one cannot be certain, but of one thing we can be very certain and that is that the lessons of this book will help others to find the will and the way to the Classless Society.

MELVIN.

"THE SUGAR PILL"—An Essay on Newspapers

By T. S. Matthews

Published by Victor Gollancz

THIS serious, though lightly written, book is one of the most interesting that this writer has come across.

The author, a retired American journalist, puts forward the thesis that the press—that is, the daily and weekly papers—are "not our daily bread, but our daily sugar pill." By a character study of two newspapers, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Manchester Guardian*, which are considered to be representative of the whole range of the press, Mr. Matthews puts forward an argument that is more than convincing; not that we need convincing, we already knew.

He rounds off this 221 page book with a detailed examination of a day's issue of the above newspapers which is extremely revealing.

There are not only two classes in society—capitalists and workers, but apparently two groups of newspapers, the quality press. *The Times*, *Manchester Guardian* and the quality press, *The Daily Telegraph*, and the popular press, the *Express*, *Sketch*, *Mirror*, etc. Not, of course, that these represent the conflicting classes, workers and capitalists, but rather conflicting interests, that is, sectional ones, among the

capitalists. This is true of the whole press in this country, with the exception of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*: from the Fascist paper *Union* on the so-called extreme right, to the *Daily Worker* on the so-called extreme left. They are all interested in perpetuating capitalism in one form or another. These two newspaper groups, like workers and capitalists, are in constant conflict, according to the author. "The real competition, in short, although it has not yet broken into open war, is between the popular press and the quality press. And the stake in that coming war will be survival. If the present trend continues—that is, if the more successful popular papers continue to capture more and more new readers—then the Popular Press will win, and eventually become what it already claims to be: the only press worth mentioning, the only press there is. It will first kill off 'the more serious of the popular papers' and then turn its attention to the only competition remaining, the papers of the quality press. Perhaps it may be decided to let them live, as harmless traditional curiosities, like the *Beefeaters* at

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OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone: MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

LABOUR PARTY DROP LAND NATIONALISATION

THE most important feature of the Labour Party's new programme for Agriculture is something it does not say, but which was disclosed at a Press conference, conducted by Mr. Tom Williams, M.P., Minister for Agriculture in the last Labour Government.

Mr. Williams is reported by the *Daily Herald* to have told the newspapermen:—

"Land nationalisation is not now a part of Labour's agricultural policy." (*Daily Herald*, July 7th, 1959.)

So instead of frightening voters by Nationalisation the Labour Parties prefers to woo the farmers with subsidies and guaranteed prices, and woo the landworkers by the minimum wage.

But the Party may not get away with this as easily as Mr. Williams did, for there are many Labour Party supporters who still think that nationalisation is what the Labour Party ought to want. *Tribune* (11th July, 1958) is so angry that it called the new agricultural policy "The worst Labour Policy Yet."

What incensed *Tribune* particularly was that the National Farmers' Union welcomed the policy, and the *Times* (7th July, 1957) made things worse by being unable to find any particular difference between Tory policy on agriculture and Labour policy:—

"How far does Labour policy on agriculture differ from the Conservative?" asked the *Times* and answered its own question:—

"The impression given by the new statement 'Prosper the Plough,' is that in most practical respects their policy is almost the same, but less stringent."

The *Financial Times* (7th July) was disappointed

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with the Labour Party document, but conceded that it should please the farmers "because it seems to foreshadow bigger subsidies for everyone."

"Pleasing the farmers" is, of course, one of the purposes of the pamphlet, because, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, the Labour Party sets "high hopes on winning some of the marginal rural seats away from the Conservatives and is anxious to avoid giving serious offence to the farmers."

Tribune and other last ditchers for nationalisation can certainly quote ancient authority for their belief. In 1891 the T.U.C. passed one of its many resolutions in favour of land nationalisation, and added the suggestion that it should be made a test question at the next general election.

And in the Labour Party's earlier agricultural programme, *The Labour Party and the Countryside* (published in the early nineteen twenties) was the categorical declaration:—

"For the Labour Party, the substitution of public for private ownership in the land . . . underlies, in principle, all its specific proposals."

Agriculture, because of the large numbers of working farmers who employ few or no workers outside their own family, has always been a difficult problem for the Labour Parties of the world. In line with trade union tradition one group demanded that the Labour Parties should back the wage-earning landworker against his employer, the farmer; but others wanted to try to win over the farmers, large and small, to support the Labour Party programme. After all, there are very large numbers of farmers and they all have votes, and, as the Russian government has found, they are extremely difficult to win away from their traditional habits and their desire to own, or at least to occupy, a parcel of land they could treat as their own, and they do not want to become employees on State farms or tenants of the State landlord.

For Socialists there is no particular problem. It is a hard task to educate the town workers away from support of Capitalism and reform of Capitalism, over to an understanding of Socialism.

It is not noticeably more difficult to win over landworkers and peasant farmers to Socialism. When they can be got to consider the question they all will see that land nationalisation leads nowhere and that Socialism alone offers them the means to use the land, without financial hindrance, to supply the food needs of the human race, and at the same time enable them to enjoy, along with everyone else, all the amenities social production in field and factory can provide.

CORRECTION

At the end of the article "What is wrong with arbitration?" top of Page 113, in the July SOCIALIST STANDARD the word shown as "members" in the quotation from the late Sir Stafford Cripps should have been "workers."

ED. COM.

I was surprised when I read that, according to the chairman of the B.B.C., Sir Arthur Forde, in the B.B.C. staffs there was "a complete belief in the absolute importance of the love of God." Does that mean atheists are barred from Broadcasting House?

(Sarah Jenkins, in the *News Chronicle*, June 21st, 1958.)

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BOOK REVIEW—continued from page 123

the Tower" (Page 170): All of which is quite illuminating, but is really all that one expects from this jungle world of capitalism, where dog eats dog, and the weakest always goes to the wall.

One thing that this writer finds most encouraging, although he has long surmised it, is that despite the seriousness with which all newspapers take themselves, apparently few of the millions of people who "read" newspapers in this country do more than glance at them. Front page, back page, comic strips, the body or bodies beautiful, and the odd eye-catching headline. The *Mirror's* reading time is given as "six minutes a day."

The *Mirror*, we are told, considers itself "a daily cocktail with fizz in it. Taken first thing in the morning (along with your dose of liver salts) at the start of another

grey working day, it gives the reader a little spurt of liveliness—and makes him look forward to another cocktail tomorrow." (Page 34.)

We are informed by the author that the press is part of the entertainment industry, and generally speaking, we would concur with that. For all that we should not underrate the power of the press; limited it may be, but along with other media it helps to mould and shape the opinions of the working class. We can be thankful that our journal is not of the shallow variety, and that our readers are not "skimmers." We should not be complacent about this, though, for our readership is small, and the task of changing this society for one with free access, and full social responsibility, can only be brought about by a working class who have been weaned from their sugar pills on to a diet of Socialist literature.

JON KEYS.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

What is Meant by Education

DOES education necessarily mean a knowledge of the higher mathematics, Greek and chemistry? No! Education, from the Socialist point of view, is a recognition of that class antagonism prevalent in society today, and a consciousness that the workers as a class must combine in opposition to the capitalist class and its supporters for the purpose of taking, holding and controlling the political machine, and subsequently the means of life in their own interest.

The full recognition of this basic principle of

Socialist propaganda and of the uncompromising action necessary to the attainment of the above object is absolutely essential from our point of view, and the moment the individual unit of society recognises this and acts accordingly, he is, from the Socialist viewpoint, educated.

Unless the workers are educated in this sense all efforts at emancipation will be as futile as those already attempted. And this is why "they cannot emancipate themselves until they are educated."

The administration of education at present lies in the hands of the capitalist class, who will take care that only those subjects tending to keep the workers in subjection, and to make them more efficient producers, shall be taught.

(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, August, 1908.)

DEPRESSION

IT is a long time since the last great trade depression. Younger people will have little or no clear recollection of it. It occurred between 1929 and 1939, coming to an end after the outbreak of the Second World War. The period was known as the Hungry Thirties. At that time there was something like a million unemployed in Canada, three million in Britain, six million in Germany, eleven million in the United States. In 1934 it was reported that there were between 80,000,000 and 100,000,000 unemployed at that time throughout the world. Even Russia, where unemployment was claimed by its supporters to have lately been abolished, was affected by the depression and had to cope with growing numbers of unemployed. And wherever it existed, unemployment, then as now, deprived its victims of the sources of life other than the limited means made available through charitable groups and government agencies.

The world's warehouses were filled with goods, the world's workers were in want and the statesmen were helpless. Bennett, of Canada, who rose to power in 1930 promising to end the depression, was ushered out of power in 1935, leaving 1,341,000 of the electorate on relief. Roosevelt of the United States called to his service the greater part of the alphabet and won the hearts of the American people—but failed to end the breadlines. Hitler of Germany blamed the evils suffered by his countrymen on the victors of the First World War and he fed the

German workers' national pride, red banners and brown shirts—to go with their black bread and sausages. The Labour Party of Britain, which came on the scene to bring shelter to the underdog from the storms and stresses of modern life, became, after a quarter century, without accomplishment, an unheroic victim of the 1930's, broken by a Labour Government measure designed to worsen the living conditions of large number of workers.

And so it went. Wherever one chanced to turn, the story could be told in much the same terms. It was a time of bleakness and want, anger and upsurge, fed upon by demagogues and mountebanks and turned in directions that brought no clear thought, much worthless and harmful effort and nothing of benefit to workers who were willing simply to serve as followers. Children spent their childhood improperly fed and clothed and lacking in playthings other than those that were whittled from wood by their fathers or fashioned from rags by their mothers. They entered schools and came out again, products of an educational system that shed no light on the desolation surrounding them. They approached young adulthood with nothing better to hope for than permission to enrol on the breadline without being subjected to the humiliating impertinences of petty officials. They feared to become married because marriage carried responsibilities which they had no way of meeting, as was carefully pointed out to them by the guardians of society. And those who

became married despite these cautions found the stern visage of authority hovering over them fearful lest they add to their numbers and increase further the burden the nation was already groaning under!

The passing years, particularly the dozen recent years of work and wages and television sets, have dimmed the memory of the Hungry Thirties. For most people the angry insistence that something be done has given place to a placid acceptance of things as they are. That there can be another depression is a thought they will not entertain. They feel vaguely that everyone learned a lesson from the last depression, that people will not stand for another one, that in any case the world's governments have taken measures or will take measures to prevent another from occurring. What lessons were learned and what measures have been taken or will be taken to prevent depression, these are matters which the average person hesitates to discuss—the blunt and gloomy truth being that his views in this connection are simply the product of wishful thinking.

It is a fact that the average person learned no lessons that matter from the last depression. It is also a fact that the politicians, the statesmen and all those on whom they depend for impressive thoughts, have failed to prove themselves better informed. The reasons are not hard to find. The average person has not made the slightest attempt to learn about depressions, and the official representatives of society, if they have made a study of the subject, have not come up with knowledge they are prepared to impart or act upon; for if they have discovered anything they have discovered that such knowledge can provide no help in preventing depression and nothing

sensible that can be used to encourage the average worker to continue his approval of the existing form of society; and since these people are committed to the preservation of present society without important changes they are obliged either to remain silent or ask people to retain confidence, trust in providence, or engage in other child-like pastimes.

There is no treatment for depressions that can bring lasting and beneficial results for the mass of the people while retaining the present order of society. That is why the brightest of capitalism's defenders have nothing to offer on the subject but nonsense. The trouble is that capitalism is not a system that can concern itself about the needs of people and how best to satisfy those needs; it is a system in which goods are produced in order that capitalists may obtain profits; and when a situation arises in which these goods cannot be sold profitably, they are retained in warehouses whether or not there are people in need. This was the situation that prevailed during the Hungry Thirties; vast quantities of wealth decaying with passing years, vast numbers of people in constant and serious need—and not a government anywhere in the world that knew what to do about it!

Capitalism is by nature a chaotic form of society, often in the throes of stagnation and never free of misery. To end the fears, uncertainties and horrors of modern life requires the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of society as a whole. This is a task to which you should give immediate thought and action.

(Leaflet published by the Socialist Party of Canada.)

WEAKNESS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGN

MANY rank and file adherents of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, associated with which are Cannon Collins, Donald Soper, Michael Foot and others believe that they are opposed on principle to nuclear weapons. They might be interested to know the reply which was made to a reader of the SOCIALIST STANDARD who was seeking an "official and authoritative" reply to the undernoted question, from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The question was:—

"Is it the policy of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at the next general election to advise their supporters to vote only for a completely anti-nuclear weapon candidate no matter to which party he or she belongs and to abstain in the absence of such a candidate?"

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament replied in a letter dated June 27th, 1958, signed by Peggy Duff, the C.N.D. Organising Secretary:—

"It is not the policy of the Campaign to advise supporters to vote only for a completely anti-nuclear weapon candidate because we feel each individual must make their decision alone, according to the circumstances in the area in which they live. To do as suggested in many areas would result in the return of a candidate much more opposed to the Campaign than the alternative."

To put it very charitably, this attitude is certainly not one of principled opposition to nuclear weapons. It is a far cry from A. J. P. Taylor's wildly acclaimed suggestion at the inaugural meeting of the Campaign on February 17th this year in Central Hall, Westminster, that politicians who supported the nuclear "deterrent" policy

should be branded as "Murderers!"

It is said by a number of people in the movement itself that some Labour Party politicians are discreetly attempting to use for their own ends the indignation of those who are appalled at the prospects of nuclear warfare and the insidious dangers of fall-out from weapon tests.

Here we see the difference between the approach of the S.P.G.B. to the problem of war and the approach of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The Socialist Party of Great Britain sees that war happens because of the way the civilian life of the world is carried on, the capitalist system of production and distribution, with its rivalries between the nations for markets, sources of raw materials and the control of trade routes and strategic points.

We hold, therefore, that the only road to peace is through altering the structure of society from capitalism to Socialism. This requires that a majority shall become convinced of the need for Socialism and democratically take organised political action to abolish capitalism and establish Socialism in its place.

It follows that the Socialist Party is opposed on principle and completely to all who help to keep capitalism going (which includes helping to keep war going). Therefore, the S.P.G.B. opposes the candidates of capitalism, Tory, Liberal, Labour, Communist, or whatever label they may be.

On the other hand there are those who say they

are opposed on principle to nuclear weapons, but who do not recognise that capitalism is bound to go on producing wars, large or small.

They think that by concentrating on this particular kind of weapon (regardless of bacteriological, chemical or any other known or secret weapons) they can gain time for more rational political policies to be instituted before the radio-active poisoning of plant and animal life or the destruction of civilisation makes politics redundant.

"PROLS" AND PLUTOCRATS

"They toil not neither do they spin,
Yet Solomon in all his glory
Was not arrayed like one of these."

SIR BRIAN BAGALOT was one of the select minority whose possessions enabled him to enjoy most of what this world has to give. He had a town and country residence both sumptuously equipped and staffed, a villa on the French Riviera, an odd farm or two whose stock were prized in agricultural circles, and a cruising yacht which he found handy when land-bound pleasures became boring. Lest it may be thought that his whole time was spent in gay abandonment, we must add that he was chairman of 10 industrial concerns as well as sitting on the board of directorship of 15 others.

He was, in fact, typical of the strong: "terror when roused" English business men to whom society doffs its cap.

Despite this, he was a sporty, trusting kind of chap and not above discussing the prospects of the vegetable crop with his head gardener or the racing news with the butler. In fact, though he did not give it much conscious thought, he had great trust in everyone—from his immediate subordinates to that vast army of men and women employed in his Industrial Empire—an army which stretched far into the vague shadow-world that lay beyond his own comfortable, sunny highway.

He shared his joys and woes with his wife, Lady Bagalot, who apart from fulfilling a biological function in his life, served as a kind of walking advertisement of the Bagalot Enterprises. It was precisely because Sir Brian had recently added another "bauble" to the already well embellished Lady Bagalot, in the shape of a diamond tiara, that our second character enters the hall.

Joe was most unlike Sir Brian; quite commonplace; belonging to what has been called "the Great Unwashed" and many other things, i.e., he was one who possessed nothing that Sir Brian and his friends wanted, except his labour power. Joe belonged to the working class indeed, though he did not "slave" to run the affairs of 25 industrial concerns. He knew little about prize live stock, or yachts, and could see nothing in bridge. Obviously NOT the typical, time-honoured, tenacious Englishman who "bestrides the narrow world like a Colossus" that one reads about in novels. Whilst Sir Brian had expanded himself on the playing fields at Eton, Joe had experienced the mental and physical cramp peculiar to a large Council School, where some poor cuss of a teacher had struggled to fit him out as a decent, law-abiding citizen. Whilst Sir Brian had absorbed the "nobling influence" of the broad green acres of his estates and the exhilaration of a "true Britisher" as he stood yachting cap at an angle, on the bridge of his

But when it comes to applying their principle in a practical way they find themselves involved in giving support to electoral candidates who do not share their principle. In face of past experience of such attitudes what can they really hope to achieve by this?

We hope that this short article will stimulate those in the Campaign to write to us so that fruitful discussion of the whole problem of war and nuclear tests may ensue. B.

cruiser, Joe, when he looked around his colourless, lustreless environment, felt as inspired as a bulldog forced to eat a bowl of lettuce.

So he changed it—or he thought he would. He scrapped the "Honesty is the best policy, God's in his heaven, all's well with the world" philosophy taught him at school, and decided that Society and he were henceforth enemies. From now on it was Joe first, and all the time. He had, you see, acquired a kind of queer sense of justice that is, alas, all too common among the world's poor. He believed that he could rectify and otherwise improve his status through his own efforts—a kind of "one man concern." He obviously hadn't studied Sir Brian's life history, otherwise he would have known that "real" wealth, can, and is, only created by the combined effort of many. Still, Joe was not so much concerned with making rather than taking. To use his own phrase, he was engaged in the business of "Redistribution of Wealth" by the simple means of breaking and entering.

His successes were many and not without their measure of excitement. Joe was indeed enjoying a more varied and eventful life as an "anti-social" member of society than ever he did during his law-abiding days. Just as Sir Brian felt akin to Lord Nelson when cruising, or an affinity with John Peel and his company of country squires when riding to hounds over the Bagalot Estate, so Joe felt himself a kind of Dick Turpin or Robin Hood both of whom are thought of as heroes to members of the working class whose education has been that where-in-history and romance are confused.

Joe's end came; sudden and dramatic. He was caught in the act of burgling Lady Bagalot's "blazers" (including the diamond tiara). After the Law had worked on him, supported by 12 moral jurymen, he was "sent down" for a long time and ceased to count as a member of society at all. Joe may have had the best of motives for his activities, but unfortunately his methods were wrong.

This ends our little story, but perhaps we could wrap it up in a moral.

The "Joe's" can be multiplied in their millions; workers who congratulate themselves on "getting away" with odd bits and pieces—a minute quantity of the world's wealth—usually just about enough to keep them "ticking" till such time as they are "sent down" (with the aid of a shovel) and are no longer a part of living society. Many have in various ways, attempted to balance the one-sidedness of wealth-ownership, by the wrong method. They

still continue to think in terms of "getting a bit more" without realising the possibilities of *getting the lot*.

The job must be done properly; not by negative attitudes to existing laws, but by a positive move to create *our own law*. We can only do this by "thinking big"; having "big ideas."

As for Joe:—

"The Law doth punish Man or Woman
Who steals the goose from off the Common
But turns the greater villain loose
Who steals the Common from the goose."
(Old Peasant Rhyme, 14th Century.)

And so whilst Joe was "put away" Sir Brian embarked on—yet another of his sea cruises.

W. BRAIN.

THE WISDOM OF CHINA?

Porcelain, Filigree and Philosophy

Ever since those many delightful commodities—porcelain, silk, embroidery, cloisonné enamel ware, carved jade and ivory, paintings, wallpaper and the like—were brought into Europe in quantity, there has also been an invisible import. A civilization that could produce such works of art stimulated curiosity, and many thoughtful people tried to understand the remarkable and impressive social theories that dominated Chinese life at the time. They saw a chance to use these ideas, which, though old in China, were newly imported into Europe. Chinese philosophy propounded theories which were particularly useful to the spokesmen for those who were finding that the feudal system of society on the Continent was becoming outmoded.

Did China influence the French Revolution?

Confucianism became popular, though it was not generally recognised that this was only one of three systems of thought in China. Chinese philosophy, in the Europe of the 17th and 18th centuries, meant only Confucianism which was so eminently to the taste of those who wished to overthrow feudalism. As Maurice Collis remarks in *The Great Within*, men had freed themselves from the limitations imposed by mediaeval theology and its scholastic metaphysics; they were tiring of the half-mythological speculations of the Renaissance: they had set their feet in a new rational world. The condition of society and the structure of the state, *these* were the practical problems which they were trying to pose and solve. What was therefore their surprise at perceiving that 2½ thousand years ago in China a philosopher had devoted his attention almost precisely to the same problems and found an answer that worked out in practice.

Similar conditions anywhere at any time give rise to comparable thoughts. Some present-day sinologists say that China thus had its effect on the French Revolution. But history shows that new economic classes in society have little difficulty in rationalising their aspirations. If they cannot find a ready-made philosophy then their thinkers will produce one. If the French bourgeoisie had not been introduced to Confucianism it is doubtful if there would have been any difference in subsequent events. The thinkers in Europe felt that their men must act well if possessing right knowledge and this could only be acquired by the reasoning mind. This was all very modern at that time: it was clearly connected with the great advance then taking place in mathematics and the natural sciences.

Famous men who plugged Chinese Philosophy

Leibniz (1646/1716) made great use of Jesuit missionary publications and in his correspondence mentions "the work of Confucius, the King of Chinese philosophers, which has been published this year in Paris." In 1697 he published his *Novissima Sinica*, in which he

argued that just as Europe had sent missionaries to China so should China send to Europe to give instructions in government and morality.

Holding such views it is not surprising to find that his metaphysics are tinged with Confucian ideas.

Quesnay (1694/1774) was known as the European Confucius. It was he who, after a study of the Chinese classics, formulated a political philosophy derived from them with the practical object of inducing the Monarchy in France to model itself upon the Imperial Government of China. He saw that the French government was heading for revolution but argued in his book *Le Despotisme de la Chine* (1767) that it could be reformed and saved if Louis XV should become an enlightened despot in the Chinese classic sense.

Voltaire (1694-1778) was another enthusiastic follower of Confucius, and in his play the plot turns upon the thesis, of which the Chinese were so fond, that as soon as the Outer Barbarians (as Europeans were called in China) come under the influence of Confucian culture they mend their ways and lead the moral life.

The feudal system of society in France at this time threw up the theory that the king can do no wrong. Some sinologists declare Chinese theories (including that of the Emperor ruling on approval, so to speak, and that if his rule does not win popular approval he must be dismissed), were a revolutionary force in feudal Europe and helped to influence the social revolution to capitalism which followed. Though men can learn from early history, in general it is the prevailing economic set-up that forms the basis upon which men build their ideas and policies.

Some say "Good old Confucius," but we say . . .

Even at the present time it is quite normal for the professional sinologists to advocate that the West would do well to follow the teachings of Confucius, and it may be a coincidence, but they seem to find in the teaching of the Old Master many virtues which it would be in the interests of our ruling class to inculcate in us. Such as humbleness in the presence of superiors and submissiveness to the State conservatism of ideas. Some even plug the old French Jesuit theory that Confucius was practically God.

The object here is to delve into this controversial subject to see if the tenets of Confucius can be helpful to the working-class movement.

But first let us consider what Confucius advocated. He lived about 2½ thousand years ago and China at that time was in a period of great change. Until then there was ample land for expansion, but the population was increasing along with wealth. State boundaries became contiguous and this was a further cause of the friction which developed into internecine warfare as the more powerful Chinese States swallowed the weaker. But on

the other hand, the people still obtained their livelihood from agriculture. Farms in river valleys had to be drained, then dykes built to contain floods. Farms on higher ground necessitated water systems to supplement the rain which in that country is uncertain. The maintenance work on these water installations was heavy and done by human power. Fairly large groups were required to co-operate in this work and so large family groups composed of several generations was the normal unit of society. This, then, was the milieu into which Confucius came. The prevailing insecurity induced him, as is quite usual in such circumstances, to look back to the good old days when the ruling classes exploited their subjects without having to fight for this right. They needed a code of ethics in order to enable their subjects to live peacefully together in these great family units and to keep the unit always submissive to the State, and Confucius, the conservative sage, obliged by consolidating the philosophy which bears his name, though the tenets were practised before his time.

Chinese Ship of State drops the Pilot

This philosophy was useful in China just as long as this system of farming lasted, but in 1949, when a capitalist government seized control they promptly dropped Confucianism as no longer suitable. Workers work harder if their income is kept for their wives and children and not shared amongst many relatives. The modern State taking over control of waterworks dispenses with the need for the old organisations. Ring out the old, ring in the new, cut out the deadwood, including Confucianism—this is Capitalism in China. Mao tse-tung, himself a

Confucian scholar, leads this refrain. The ancient wisdom of China arose in an ancient system of society, but now, both have passed away. It is futile to try to resurrect the past.

Why Socialists reject Confucianism

Confucianism does not arise from Capitalist conditions and cannot be used by those living in Capitalism—the Chinese themselves recognise this. It is doubtful if any philosophy makes anything but nonsense outside of the conditions which give rise to it. It is no accident that Christianity, the religion of the slaves of the Roman Empire and which was found such a consolation for the slaves of later times, has failed so utterly to take root in China, a land of yeoman farmers living since time immemorial in civil service controlled State where, domestic work apart, slavery was virtually unknown.

We in the working-class movement have a Socialist philosophy which is all-embracing and leaves no vacuum to be filled by other systems of thought. It deals with the labour theory of value, the class struggle and the materialist conception of history, which point the way to a classless system of society where the means of life will be held in common. Arising from this we have an attitude towards trade unions, war, morals, marriage, property rights, the wages system, trade, religion, yes, and even Chinese philosophy. We leave the nostalgic yearnings of Confucius to the spokesmen who find part of it useful to capitalism, while we are content to explain it, and in so doing, demonstrate the correctness of the materialist conception of history which is the pillar of our Socialist outlook.

F. E. OFFORD.

SOCIALIST VICTORY OR ELECTION ANTICS

JUDGING from recent press reports, it would appear that a number of Labour Party M.P.'s are not at all sure that the Conservative Party's inability to solve the problems which are making capitalism unpalatable to an increasing number of workers will result in the return to power, at the next General Election, of the Labour Party.

The fact that it is the system of society which needs changing, and not the people that administer it, has not yet been understood by the majority of the working class. It is because of this ignorance of their class needs, that workers have been persuaded at election time to cast their vote for whichever programme of reforms seems to offer the greatest measure of security against the constant threat of unemployment, war, attacks upon wage levels, and the host of other afflictions that are the burden of the property-less in a class-divided society.

It is apparently because of the pronounced lack of enthusiasm shown by voters during recent bye-elections for the vote-catching schemes which the Labour Party have put forward, that has given rise to another splinter-group within the Labour Party. The sponsors of this new group claim that they will be able to combat the apathy shown by the electorate, and will be able to help mould public opinion into accepting the Labour Party as the next government.

Mr. Stephen Swinger, M.P., chairman of the group, in an attempt to convince the party leaders—"that the movement is within the four walls of party rules" (*Daily*

Telegraph), quotes the application form for membership of the group as demonstrating their loyalty to the party. He points out that only Labour Party members who are anxious to work for the success of the Party, are eligible for membership.

Mr. Swinger sets out the group's aim as being "to recruit individual members pledging themselves to work for Socialism on a national basis." This must be somewhat confusing to those people who have been kidded by the misrepresentation of the daily newspapers that the whole Labour Party was Socialist, for it now appears that only a select band, working both "for the success of the party" and for "Socialism on a national basis" (which appears to be something quite different) are, according to Mr. Swinger, Socialists.

This trick of going in two different directions at the same time has also been used by Mr. Lamb, the Labour candidate in the Torrington By-election. Mr. Lamb is reported as having said: "I believe we should stop immediately everything connected with the manufacture and testing of H-bombs. Britain must not be a base for the launching of guided missiles. As I do not consider the H-bomb a deterrent I cannot consider the manufacture and testing of them a peaceful activity." He then went on to say: "I have expressed a personal view, a line which I shall pursue throughout the election. I shall be unrelenting in my opinion." He did, however, modify this statement considerably by adding: "If subsequently my method is not acceptable to the majority (of the

Labour Party), I must be prepared to and indeed will, accept the majority decision" (*Daily Express*).

Mr. Gaitskell, as reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, warned these misguided enthusiasts of the dangerous effects of setting up organisations within the Labour Party. Addressing a constituency party dinner gathering at Keighley, Mr. Gaitskell said: "Recently an impression has been created that disunity may be reappearing. I want to warn the party of the dangers of this. We have at present, every hope of winning a substantial victory at the next general election. But this could be seriously jeopardised if division and disputes in our ranks broke out again." He then went on to say: "If one organisation of this kind is permitted, there is no reason why it should not be followed by others, advancing other points of view. The result would inevitably be the distraction and disruption of the Party, with disastrous effects alike on our electoral efficiency and our reputation as the alternative government."

"Victory for Socialism" is the title adopted by Swingler and Co., to cover their activities which they claim will help the Labour Party to return to power at the next general election. One of the first moves of this group, in their attempt to cash in on popular movements, was to ally itself to the "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" which organised the Easter march on the British nuclear weapons' headquarters at Aldermaston.

The object of this campaign is to gain publicity for the movement's protest against the manufacture of nuclear weapons and rocket missiles in this country. It must be pointed out that these activities, whatever else they may accomplish, have nothing at all to do with a victory for Socialism.

YOU HAVE IT ALL WRONG!

For the well-being of the people of these islands the S.P.G.B. advocates:—

UNEMPLOYMENT!
ABOLITION OF THE DOLE!
ABOLITION OF OLD AGE PENSIONS!
ABOLITION OF MATERNITY BENEFITS!
DISBANDING OF TRADE UNIONS!

Although the declaration of principles is printed in every publication we issue, the S.P.G.B. receives numerous requests to declare itself, to put forward constructive and concrete proposals instead of destructive attacks on all the other political parties. These, therefore, are some of our aims put in a "concrete" manner. Our reasons for pursuing such a policy follow—a policy which we believe will further the well-being of the working class; not only of this country but of the whole world.

Our object is Socialism: A social system under which the means of production and distribution are commonly owned. With common ownership it naturally follows that there can be no employers and no employees; therefore no employment, i.e., unemployment. Socialists are surprised how workers who consider themselves "fly," continue to fall for this employment racket. Workers, to whom it would be impossible to sell "a gold brick" or Trafalgar Square, are still sold this greatest of all confidence tricks. On going to work the boss provides

The fact is that these architects of "Socialist Victory" stress that they are always prepared to toe the Labour Party line, which does not say much for their sincerity in opposing nuclear armaments. Or have they forgotten that it was the Labour Party who pioneered the manufacture of the atom bomb in this country and made the manufacture of the H-bomb possible?

What these political opportunists fail to realise is that capitalism, with or without the H-bomb to protect the interests of the propertied class, with or without a Labour Party dedicated to nationalising the exploitation of the workers, cannot function without the poverty of the wage packet; the pursuit of profit; the wars that arise because of the need of rival capitalist groups to protect or capture markets, sources of raw materials and trade routes; and the periodical trade slumps which result in workers becoming unemployed as a consequence of their producing more than the market can absorb.

But one cannot expect Mr. Swingler and his associates to face these tiresome facts. And so the political merry-go-round goes on, with the charlatans and misguided do-gooders performing mental acrobatics in order to gain the votes of working people. And for what purpose? The purpose of gaining governmental power in order to administer capitalism with all the problems that it produces. One can only hope that sooner or later workers will get wise to this kind of double-talk, and decide to run society themselves, and run it for their own benefit. When this happens, the need for wars, H-bombs, poverty, slumps and leaders of the calibre of Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Swingler will finally disappear.

E. C.

one with a desk or machine and pays for only part of the work done. Were a shop assistant to give short change, the injured party would swiftly take steps to rectify it, but under capitalism not only do the injured parties tolerate this system of short-changing, but even support it by voting for political parties which will perpetuate the system. People who allow themselves to be swindled acquire the just title of "suckers."

Money being a convenient means of measuring property, in a society where all wealth is communally owned, it would automatically fall into disuse. The dole, therefore, would also become obsolete. If certain articles were to be over-produced the workers in those industries would not be penalised for having worked too hard and forced to eke out an existence on the pittance the Government deems fit until the glut had been absorbed. Rather, would they still be able to enjoy the fruits of general production which they would have undoubtedly earned.

Similarly, Old Age Pensions and Maternity Benefits would pass into history, so that when workers decided that their advancing years no longer rendered them capable of doing their job satisfactorily, they, too, would not be deprived of access to the necessities of life, but could spend "the twilight of their lives" (as the reformists like to call it) without fear or worry. Under Socialism couples wanting children would not be oppressed with worry

(Continued on page 131)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

YOU HAVE IT ALL WRONG—continued from page 150

about being able to afford them.

Trade Unions are the defensive weapon in the arsenal of the working class. The offensive weapon, the vote, is grossly misused and the Trade Unions are far from fulfilling their role.

With the advent of Socialism Trade Unions will no longer be required. There will be no wages to fight over or redundancy to worry about and their function will be ended.

Thus it will be seen that our proposals, at first sight Utopian to those whose minds have been conditioned by "the Welfare State," in fact would be a boon to all mankind. This new social system can be obtained—provided YOU, the reader, understand it and want it. The S.P.G.B. is available to be used by you. Don't delay its employment longer than necessary.

ESSIG

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne, Australia.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hackney—Junct. of Hereford
St. and Cheshire St., E.11 ... 11 a.m.
Hyde Park ... 3.30—7 p.m.
East Street
(Walworth) August 3rd 11 a.m.
" 10th 12.30 p.m.
" 17th 12.30 p.m.
" 24th 11 a.m.
" 31st 11 a.m.

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS

Gloucester Road ... 8 p.m.
Earls Court ... 8 p.m.
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 p.m.

FRIDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road ... 8 p.m.
Kingston, Castle St. ... 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Finsbury Pavement ... Tuesdays
Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

MITCHAM DISCUSSION GROUP

at

"THE THREE KINGS"
Mitcham Fair Ground

Thursday, August 14th at 8 p.m.

"We are the Alternative" - E. Wilmott

Thursday, September 11th at 8 p.m.

"How To Avoid War" - E. Hardy

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTEMHAM.—Secretary, Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRISTOL 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Beavie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breakey, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIDSbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Meets 4th Thursday in month at "Three Kings," Mitcham Fair Ground. Secretary: T. Lord, 288, Church Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT.—Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDBILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellon Rd., Pencoellogi, Nr. Llanelly

BRISTOL MEETINGS

on

DURDHAM DOWNS,

SUNDAYS, 3rd, 10th and 24th August

at 6 p.m.

Members and Sympathisers are urged to assist the Group by attending early.

PUBLICATION DATE OF
"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

PAMPHLETS

Questions of the Day	1/- (Post free 1/2)
The Socialist Party and War	1/- (" " 1/2)
Russia Since 1917	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Communist Manifesto and the Last Hundred Years	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Racial Problem—A Socialist Analysis	1/- (" " 1/2)
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Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism ?	4d. (" " 6d.)
Nationalisation or Socialism ?	6d. (" " 8d.)
Socialist Comment	6d. (" " 8d.)

All obtainable from the Literature Committee,
52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BASILDON (Previously Wickford). Branch meets on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m. at the Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence to Secretary R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. No meetings in August. September 4th and 18th, at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., at 7.30 p.m.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Thursdays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Baling Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m. at 34, St. George's Square, (Wilcox, top flat) S.W.1. All correspondence to Secretary, L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W. Tel.: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrock, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E.1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (13th and 27th August) at 8 p.m., The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (11th and 25th August) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivimey, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware, Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. (13th and 27th August) 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

HLINGTON. Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbash, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WICKFORD see Basildon (top of column).

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at 118, Pelham Road, Wood Green, N.22.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsay, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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MORALITY DETERMINE
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THE SPUTNIK

THE CONFLICT IN THE
MIDDLE EAST

RESOLUTIONS AGAINST
H BOMBS

Registered for transmission to Canada

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6^D

Do it Yourself

SOMETHING WORTH THINKING ABOUT

THE POST-WAR CULT OF "Do-It-Yourself" gained most of its newspaper publicity through the effect it had upon home decorating and repairs. The process of making up for colossal war-time destruction and continuing to arm for the next war produced a period of unprecedented full employment. This was the immediate economic situation that kept the repair and redecoration of working class houses at their maximum market price—a price too high for working class families to afford—even with full employment.

And so we have seen the growth of scores of journals and newspaper features devoted to papering ceilings, pointing brickwork and unstopping drains. Firms have made fortunes manufacturing and marketing power tool kits for enthusiastic handymen; and the rate of borrowing from public libraries of books on "useful arts" has doubled.

But "Do-It-Yourself" has more interesting origins than even this novel economic situation. Some of its causes are deeper, more obscure, and may not on the surface appear to be economic at all. If you ask the man who tells you he has just tiled his bathroom with the latest plastic tiles and easy-to-fix adhesive why he did the job himself instead of paying a tradesman to do it, his second reason (after the cost) will be the quality of workmanship. He cannot trust the workers in the decorating firms to "make a good job of it." Now, the standards of professional decorating for working class houses has never been high, as Robert Tressell's book, "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists," makes quite clear. Materials and work are pared to a minimum to keep costs as low as possible and produce a job that will pass muster on a casual inspection. It has little to do with conscientious workmanship because, where the contractor's price can be paid, as in the office suites of growing industrial companies, picture houses, and the most expensive private houses, the "professional job" cannot be bettered. But in the cheap trade there does seem to be justification for saying that standards are falling even below the old penny-pinching level.

The High Cost of Repairs

The reasons are not hard to find. Full employment and the growth of mass production have made repairs of all kinds relatively dearer because of the higher proportion of hand labour they consume. The exploitation of the repair man cannot be stepped up to any great degree by mechanisation as it can in manufacture. It is small wonder, then, that firms whose sole business is repairing and refurbishing shoddily built houses should be forced to lower their standards in order to avoid pricing themselves out of business entirely. Nevertheless, the combination

of higher prices and lower quality has forced thousands of working men to arrive home after a full day's work in the factory or office and then put in a full evening's work with a bucket of distemper in the kitchen.

Mass production has done something else. Although it can never produce the finest quality of workmanship, it has raised the standards of design and finish of a number of commodities produced for the working class market. And so the ordinary working man and his wife have begun to apply these standards that they have obtained from mass-produced television sets and crockery and clothes to the homes in which they live. In the majority of these homes the mass-production standard of even the cheapest "telly" makes the rest of their furniture and decorations look ludicrously squalid. In addition, the furniture and fittings used in the plays and shows on the telly makes them even more aware of what material comfort can be. The workers have had a slight taste of quality and they find that they like it. The struggle to keep up with the Joneses has begun in earnest and "Do-It-Yourself" offers about the only chance for the pay packet to stretch to a set of built-in cupboards, even though they must be made mostly of hardboard and rather thickly painted. The working class family has to put up finally with their own rather poor imitation of quality.

The Tedium of Mass Production

But it is economic conditions also that have made many of these home handymen actually enjoy bringing their total working hours up to twelve or fifteen a day. Wage-working has always been drudgery but it has taken modern mass-production and office organisation to reduce factory work and clerical duties to a deadening tedium. The last vestiges of pleasure in making something or performing a personal service—the real pleasures of work—are gone. A man who attends half a dozen autos all day and every day while they churn out screws gets nothing but boredom and weariness from his work. It is therefore small wonder that in his "leisure" time he should get a certain amount of pleasure out of putting in a new kitchen sink, since the job has got to be done anyway. It really means, however, that working hours have not been shortened very much in the last hundred years.

"Do-It-Yourself" has thus helped to prop up a number of the minor weak points in the capitalist social system; but, like many another social trend, this movement has to some extent overshot the mark already. It has more than filled up the immediate economic vacuum which brought it into being and, far from keeping working class attention fixed safely on private household problems, has begun to spread into wider fields. Acute business men have recognised in this craze a deep underlying need in working men to do something constructive in a social system which, when it is not destroying things and people, is forcing such a high degree of organisation and atomisation upon production and living that the ordinary man feels he is no longer in contact with real things or real life. As with every other potential market, capital has striven to exploit this one to the full. Apart from "Do-It-Yourself" kits for making furniture and boats and—in America—rockets, it is possible to take up part time study in all sorts of skills and fields of learning. There are correspondence courses for almost everything except a medical degree; and on a less strenuous level there has been a sharp increase in radio and television programmes with a bias on learning and active participation. "Net-

work Three" is the plainest example of the trend, but it is now also possible to be your own archeologist with Sir Mortimer Wheeler, your own big game hunter with Armand Denis and his wife, or even a marine biologist with Hans Haas.

Much of this is of course spurious or at least superficial participation in such affairs for the ordinary working man; but his appetite has been whetted and occasionally he is given a broadcast programme or a newspaper article that is even daring enough to suggest that he should think for himself.

Do your own thinking

This is really the end of the ride, however. This is where the powers that be want to call a halt to the craze for "Do-It-Yourself." It may help the worker to put up with the monotony of factory life if he can do a bit of house-painting in his spare time. That is safe. What he does at home does not seriously offer competition to the mass production he does for the major part of his day. When it comes to thinking, however, the mass media of propaganda—television, films, radio, advertising, newspapers, pulpits, classrooms—could be seriously upset if ordinary working men started doing their own thinking. They might pause from accepting the opinions of professionals on the state of the world and start trying to make their own. They might start asking their own questions instead of leaving it to the Questionmaster. They might begin to ask why, in a world with such vast productive resources and capabilities, with mass production in fact, they have to work eight to ten hours a day, five or six days a week, fifty weeks a year, fifty years in a lifetime, just to maintain a barely sufferable standard of living (when there is no slump), and then be pensioned off with a pittance when they are too old to work.

They might start asking why, in a world where nobody wants war, they should be called upon, every generation or so, to leave home and family to go and hurl death and destruction at other working men and women who also don't want any part of it.

They might even ask how on earth it came about and—what is equally fascinating—how it is kept up that a very small group of people in the civilized world own the land and the vast accumulation of property and wealth upon it, while the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of these countries own nothing but a few meagre, personal trifles.

When working men and women start asking their own questions, they will start putting two and two together for themselves and that, to the propagandists and to the class and system they strive to keep in power, would be intolerable. That would be political thinking; and if there is one thing that the working man is expected not to do for himself, it is to trouble his head about politics. All the agencies of propaganda agree upon this that there are plenty of expert politicians and historians and economists who are far better equipped than the ordinary worker at political thinking. All that he needs to do is to put one or other of the reputable types of representative into the Commons every five years and leave it in their capable hands.

The only trouble is that these professionals have an unbroken record of failure. "Do-It-Yourself"—both the practical and theoretical kinds—has begun to show people that many experts are not so different or so infallible as they used to appear. Some of these jobs and some of

these ideas are quite easy when you know how, particularly this business of politics, for which no special training or degree is given, and in which a man doesn't have to be particularly bright, as is plain when some politicians appear on television.

When the ordinary working man has begun to do his own political thinking and has realised that all the business of present day politics, all the mad mass production and competition for profit, the insane wars for economic and strategic advantages, are only important issues for those who really own the world and only arise because

CLASS INTERESTS, NOT MORALITY, DETERMINE POLICIES

IN the *Sunday Times* on the 10th August Rebecca West wrote an article in a series "The Destiny of Man" that commenced with an article by Julian Huxley.

We are not here concerned with her contribution to the discussion apart from a particular paragraph in her article. After referring to certain statements of Ovid on morality and comparing them with statements by Julian Huxley, Rebecca West makes the following comment:

"Sir Julian is perfectly right; this idea is bound to inspire men to mighty moral and intellectual efforts; and that is just what it has done. People throughout the centuries have gone on and on, lending an ear to the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount and the pagan moralists, building hospitals and homes for the old, treating children kindly and trying to establish justice, instead of taking the easy path and turning into handsome young bulls and going off after Europa." (The last phrase is a reference to Ovid's statement.)

Now let us take a glance at these "mighty moral and intellectual efforts." But before doing so let us make it clear that we are concerned with what has in general happened, and not with the well-meaning efforts of a few people here and there who have been inspired with a desire to help humanity to better things.

In the early years of the present century Lloyd George, a British cabinet minister, admitted the shocking conditions of the aged poor in what he called the richest land under the sun. The origin of hospitals was largely due to the need to renovate soldiers wounded in battle so that they could rise and fight again. When Britain was undergoing the industrial revolution that made it the most powerful country of its time children of tender age were working long hours in factories that have been described as veritable hells. Every capitalist government, as well as those on the way to being such, have claimed, when embarked upon imperialist policies, that they were "trying to establish justice." But what justice was meted out to the hundreds of thousands of Africans that were transported in coffin ships to America and elsewhere during last century for the profit of slave-owners and slave-traders? Where do the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount apply there?

Coming to more recent times we may ask what moral motives were behind the two wars that have devastated the world, or the Korean war, or the other instances of armed savagery that have devastated vast areas and brought misery to millions of the earth's inhabitants.

On the same page of the *Sunday Times* the Prime Minister of Australia, R. G. Menzies, has a defence of the sending of British and United States forces into the Middle East. He uses the old threadbare argument that

of the social system in which he and his fellows own nothing—when he has thought this himself—then he and all those like him in the world will decide that such a social system must be done away with as soon as possible. And, having acquired a healthy distrust of experts and professionals, he will decline all the offers of those who contend to do the job for him. We will have become aware of what this party has been telling him for fifty-four years: if you want a job well done—if you want Socialism—you must "Do-It-Yourself."

S. STAFFORD.

it was "purely defensive." Every nation taking armed action makes the same claim. It is true they are defensive actions, but not in the sense that Mr. Menzies wants us to believe. They are actions for the purpose of defending the profit hunting of sections of the capitalist class.

The United Nations Charter was supposed to provide an assembly that would settle disagreements between nations and thus prevent the recourse to armed conflict. All disagreements were to be submitted to this body before action was taken. In fact the opposite has happened ever since the Assembly was founded.

Mr. Menzies, who claimed to be aiming at true national independence and ordered peace, makes the following statements in his article:—

"That Great Britain and the United States had a right, without any violation of the United Nations Charter, to send forces for purely defensive purposes into the Lebanon and Jordan is, I think, clear. The reasons for this view are essentially practical, and are affirmed by many actions already taken by leading members of the United Nations, without challenge in that body. . . . With the invitation or consent of the established Government of the receiving country, it is quite clear that the 'sending in' of forces is completely legal and proper."

That let's out Russia's action in Hungary and also shows what a complete fraud the United Nations Charter is. But it also shows up the hypocrisy of the propaganda by Western official spokesmen in favour of national groups oppressed by a tyrannous government. For instance it would be "completely legal and proper" for the Western powers to send armed forces into Russia at the request of the Russian Government to quell any rising against the Government of Russia! But of course Mr. Menzies would probably reply, "Ah, that's different!"

The ex-president of the United States, Mr. H. S. Truman, also made a contribution supporting the armed intervention in the Middle East. In an article in the *Daily Express*, 21st July, 1958, he said:—

"The President has made a momentous decision and proclaimed a policy which every citizen of the United States should support."

In his enthusiasm he goes further, stating that it ought to be made clear to Nasser and the Arab leaders that the Western nations were not going to be blackmailed because of their need for oil.

"The fact is that the free world now has access to ample oil resources outside the Middle East, from which they can supply all their industrial, domestic, and strategic requirements."

Behind this statement is the fact that America has a surplus of oil—but American capitalists are still determined to keep a firm grip on Middle East oil, and any other sources they can get their hands on.

He slipped up on one point, however. He says:—

"Nor is there any hope of a better future for the Arabs if, on the pretence of freedom, so-called republics are set up by brutal military coups such as occurred in Iraq."

Since he wrote that the Iraq republic has been recognised by the U.S., Britain, Italy, Japan, and others. With cold-blooded cynicism the British Government stated its recognition two days after the memorial service to King Feisal. The reason for the speed? According to the diplomatic correspondent of the *Express* (*Daily Express*, 2nd August, 1958) the reasons were as follows:—

"The first is that Britain wants to give every chance to the new régime to prove its loyalty to 'international obligations,' like oil agreements and membership of the Bagdad Pact. The second is that the Government is determined that Britain shall not be beaten by Germany—one of the first to recognise the new régime—Italy, Japan, and other countries in the trade race in Iraq."

There it is in a nutshell without any humbug. The kind of inspiration that is behind the policies of all capitalist nations. As another correspondent put it, even more

bluntly, the matter of prime importance is "to keep the oil flowing."

Rebecca West's moral uplift moves in curious ways. Another illustration of them is contained on the same page of the *Sunday Times* from which we have already quoted, but this time in its editorial column.

Commenting on the cruise of the "Nautilus" under the Polar ice, the editorial column has this observation:—

"The strategic implications of the voyage are revolutionary, and will fundamentally alter concepts of global warfare."

Historically Rebecca West's idea of moral uplift may be fantastic but there is a moral in all this; that as long as the actions of governments are determined by economic class interests there will be cynicism, brutality and war. The only way to remove these evils is to abolish the source of class interests—the private ownership of the means of living. Only the establishment of Socialism can do this—there is no other way.

GILMAC.

THE NAUTILUS AND THE SPUTNIK

The Use and Misuse of Science

ON 9th August two items of news reached the Press, the voyage of an American atom-powered submarine under the North Pole and the hint by the British Minister of Supply that the Government is considering the construction and launching of a British Sputnik. Here surely are two evidences of the marvels of scientific knowledge and human courage and ingenuity that on one need hesitate to glory in!! And so it might be if the human race had learned how to conduct its social relationship in a manner conducive to its own well-being and happiness. But that is precisely what it has not yet done.

The submarine "Nautilus," with 116 men aboard, had journeyed under the North Pole and the Arctic ice-cap from Alaska to Iceland, proving the practicability of cutting the voyage from London to Tokyo from 11,200 to 6,300 miles; truly, as described in a message from the British Admiralty, "a remarkable and historic achievement." The submarine is reported to have cost nearly £13 million, and allowing for all the other costs involved, this might be considered a trifle if it did in fact bring the kind of benefits to mankind that are claimed for the feat. But what in fact will it achieve? Its captain, Commander Andersen, said:—

"We were anxious to show the possibility of utilising this route some day as a fast commerce route."—(*Daily Telegraph*, 9th April, 1958.)

What else has it achieved? A correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* tells us:—

"A new ocean, the frozen wastes of the Arctic, has been opened up to navigation and hence to naval use. This is the meaning of the unprecedented trans-Polar under-sea voyage from Hawaii to Iceland, of the nuclear-powered submarine Nautilus."

Then the correspondent, Mr. Hanson Baldwin, develops this theme—far removed from Commander Andersen's words about commerce. Quoting an American naval expert he shows how a submarine firing guided missiles could range across the Arctic, with the Russian towns of Murmansk, Leningrad and Moscow well within range. "The whole vast Arctic coastline of Russia is potentially open to assault."

From the Depths Below to the Moon Above

So much for the penetration of the icy waters. Now for the projected British Sputnik in space. The *Manchester Guardian*, in the seemingly thoughtful and sober way of which it is proud, discusses the project and doubts its advisability. But the *Guardian's* argument is atrocious when viewed from the real interests of the human race.

It concedes that there are "virtues in carrying the Union Jack outside the earth's atmosphere," the virtues consisting chiefly of "a certain amount of prestige," like that gained by the Russian and American governments already. But the *Guardian's* editor considers the cost would be too great, unless at the same time some military advantage can also be gained in the shape of using the launching of a Sputnik to acquire experience with guided missiles.

Not that the editor underestimates the value of "prestige," but he thinks that "the kind of prestige which Britain needs is that which makes it easier to sell locomotives in South America, motor cars in the United States, and electrical machinery in the Far East."

"A Sputnik may help in this direction," he writes, "though not as much as a successful Zeta or victory at Le Mans."

Here we see the real motive behind it all, the one that poisons and distorts every official and commercial activity of the world in which we live. The scientists may talk of pure research to discover Nature's secrets, and the Cabinet Ministers of benefits of peaceful commerce, but all the time their actions line up with the inescapable character of capitalist enterprise, the trade competition that gives rise to rivalry and war, with Nationalism and Patriotism serving as the justification for every hostile act including the bestialities of war itself.

How can the vicious circle be broken? There is only one way. It is stupid self-deception for the *Manchester Guardian* and Labour Parties of the world to dream of taming the cut-throat struggle through United Nations pacts and interventions. Continuing on those lines means continuing the history of the past 100 years into a war-torn future, with consequences beyond imagination. If capitalism continues, with the giant capitalist

Powers, U.S.A. and Russia fighting it out, and with their respective capitalist allies and satellites all necessarily involved, the conquest of the Arctic seas and the conquest of space will prove as empty as and even more disastrous than did the opening of the Suez Canal nearly a century ago, about which just the same soothing claims of beneficial progress were made. (We can see in our day what the Suez Canal really did for the world.)

The only way out, and one the *Manchester Guardian* never even considers, is to end the private ownership of

the means of production and distribution, and the consequent ceaseless armed conflict for control of sources of nature-given materials, and competition for markets in which to dispose profitably of the products of the workers' labours, and to launch out on the really great and fruitful adventure of organising world resources on the simple basis of production solely to meet the needs of mankind.

But that is Socialism and so far its daring simplicity frightens all except the small minority who hold to the principles of the S.P.G.B. and its companion parties.

H.

THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ANOTHER Middle East storm has developed. This time it is the Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq that occupy the centre of the stage, with Kuwait also stirring. Again oil is the mainspring of the eruptions and clashing interests. The struggles concern the rich oil lands and the routes to those areas, with other economic advantages for the privileged seeping in.

The revenues from oil are in the region of the fabulous. They are cherished by the privileged possessors, and sought after by privileged non-possessors who want a larger share of the plunder. The toilers who make these revenues possible have no share in them. They only receive the customary payment for the work they do; some of the Arab workers receive hardly enough to buy the necessities of life.

In spite of the numberless pronouncements on peace, with which we have been deluged for decades from all quarters, armed force, or the threat of it, is always the final resource when capitalist sections feel that their sources of revenue are threatened.

Reality and Hypocrisy

The present flare-up, just as the recent Suez dispute, concerns oil and the interests of the mammoth oil companies. There is no secret about this. Reports, articles, and pronouncements concentrate on this aspect.

As usual, the designs of those responsible for the moves in this turbulent quarrel are surrounded with a cloud of hypocrisy. The Western Powers claim to be concerned to defeat the pernicious intrigues of Russia; the Eastern Powers to put a limit to the imperialist designs of the West; the Middle East revolutionists to secure the freedom of oppressed nationals.

But each group of participants has internal antagonisms, and the members view each other with suspicion. They are uneasy unions in which each participant mistrusts the others and intrigues for the best vantage ground to press forward the economic interests of the privileged groups it represents. Hence they are always likely to fall apart and change sides.

It is an old oft-repeated story; littered with indecision, broken pacts, duplicity, intrigues and wars. In the final chapter the privileged always occupy the seat of power and the mass of people remain in subjection. It will be the same in the Middle East after the present turmoil has come to an end. At best the most the mass of the people there can obtain is a standard of wage slavery that is equivalent to what obtains in the so-called advanced countries.

When there is plenty to spend

When Western workers put forward wage claims recently they were fobbed off with the excuse that indus-

try could not afford the outlay involved. Where they persisted in pressing their claims the employers entered into long and protracted negotiations. But when sectional capitalist interests are threatened thousands of miles away, then the might of the State goes into instant action, regardless of the outlay involved. The American State has transported munitions and men to the Lebanon at enormous cost, and the British State has done likewise to Jordan. This makes a mockery of the appeals to freeze wage claims in spite of rising living costs.

There is no excuse this time about helping oppressed people. Armed assistance has been sent to help tottering semi-feudal monarchies—in defence of oil interests.

When black becomes white

When the Russian Government sent troops to suppress the revolt against the Hungarian Communist Government, American and British statesmen and spokesmen could hardly find words strong enough to express their indignation at such an abominable action. But when the semi-feudal governments of Jordan and the Lebanon were threatened by revolting subjects the Western States lost no time in answering the call for help with men and munitions of war. Russia and China are now able to reciprocate the phoney righteous indignation. But then hypocrisy has always been one of the hall-marks of capitalism.

Those who only suffer

One of the tragic sides of the Middle East armed adventure is that soldiers are being sent there to risk their lives in a quarrel that does not concern them, and from which they will gain nothing, except the possibility of a grave or mutilation. In the Middle East itself masses of people are worked up to fury against the present groups that are oppressing them, but their struggles will only result in fastening other groups of oppressors on their backs in place of the present ones. They have not yet discovered the way to abolish all oppression.

U.N.O. again takes a back seat

Once again the futility and sham of the United Nations Organisation has been exposed. When the principal Powers deem the time has come to take armed action they treat this expensive Tower of Babel with contempt. Likewise, when the heads of State consider the issue important enough and they decide to meet their opponents in the game of political manoeuvring, the so-called united organs of peace take a back seat.

The present flare-up also throws light on the British Government's determination to hold Cyprus at any cost. It is a strategic base for action in the Middle East in defence of capitalist interests there.

Futile "Hands off" processions

As usual in this country there has been an eruption of "Hands off" movements. Although these emotional demonstrations, in which dupes of the Russian Government always take a hand, have never accomplished anything, and never can, the supporters continue their bedraggled slogan-shouting processions. Instead of spending time and thought grappling with the cause of social disharmony, they waste their time and energy in useless protests.

Economic interests determine policies

In the Middle East external governments are solely concerned with the interests of their capitalist controllers and will fight against, or acquiesce in, internal changes according to their bearing on these interests. The internal States are torn with strife over which section of the privi-

leged can occupy the seats of power and reap the harvest produced by the workers' labour. In both instances the unprivileged do the fighting and reap the misery of victory or defeat.

The only solution

So it will continue until those who do the work of the world realize that only when privilege in all forms, and class ownership of the means of living, have been abolished will it be possible for the people of the world to give in harmony.

When this is achieved exploitation and the hunger for profit will disappear and there will no longer be tragedies like Hungary, Suez, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon.

(Text of leaflet now in circulation. Readers wanting copies should apply to Head Office.)

FILMS**THE UNKNOWN QUESTION**

RECENTLY many film critics and many picturegoers have clapped their hands at the end of films that deal with war; the war with all the dead and wounded, the war with all the bullets and shells. Somewhere in these films we find the hero mumbles something that clearly shows how "confused" or "unnecessary" wars really are. "The Bridge on the River Kwai," "Paths of Glory," and "The Young Lions" are a few examples. "The Unknown Soldier" (shown at the Academy) has more bullets fired, and more blood spilled than any of them. It also provides a record of war that is seemingly harsh but really quite accurate in its two-hour-plus description of the Finnish army's advance and subsequent retreat in Russia during 1941.

The director, Edvin Laine, employed a largely unprofessional cast in the making of this first war film from Finland. There are no real heroes, certainly not in the Hollywood U.S. Marine tradition, for it is obvious from just ten minutes of this film that however unflinching heroes may be they rarely live to see the medals handed out.

A handful of agricultural workers forming a National Service machine gun detachment are the centre of the film's interest. They are shown from their first time in uniform as awkward recruits, to their final savage battles in retreat from the overwhelming Russian army.

Presenting a faithful picture of war it does not employ any of the patriotic devices usual to most war films. Most noticeable is the absence of the enemy—the Russians. They are seen here and there marching or advancing as a body, but never are they identified as the aggressors by means of propagandist tricks showing the enemy as the rapers, monsters, and barbarians which is also common to war films. A typical example of the portrayal of the Russians is a marching column in the snow, vague figures in heavy uniforms. Two Finns sit behind a machine gun ready to fire upon the unsuspecting soldiers; one speaks, "If that bastard has a maker, start forgiving his sins now, and quickly!" This sums up the attitude of the film to the enemy.

Finns are not shown as brave and relentless fighters, everyone of them living proof of the term "plucky little Finland." Many of them are shown as fools and cowards, two of them are shot for indiscipline.

A bitter humour pervades the film. As the detach-

ment force their way into Karelia then suffer severe losses during the retreat the soldiers become unmoved by violent death; it has no real significance.

In a review in the *Observer* (Sunday, June 13) C. A. Lejeune says: "The Unknown Soldier" is a rough work with certain qualities of greatness, but to watch it is a great ordeal."

No punches are pulled, and scenes are brutal and horrifying in an arms-and-legs-all-over-the-screen fashion.

The final conclusion is that all the killing, all the dying, all the shooting and all the fear has been something of a waste of time. Forlorn and pathetic the soldiers stand in the trees of a vast forest, last shots have been fired, the sun shines through the tree tops. Voices swell in a last triumphant anthem and everybody is glad because of peace. Peace that is silence and the sun shining—the only trite device used by the director.

"The Unknown Soldier" is a war film that shows men, who have worked all of their lives, suddenly fighting. They fight because they have to. But no reason is given for war, nobody knows why, because if they did they would not be fighting.

"For religion and home" the soldiers cry together, a scared group of men who yell because it gives them courage. They fight so they can go home to their families and work hard and forget about it. The violence and fear are to be forgotten, put aside, just as any attempt to think why the soldiers fought was to be put aside. They would have no other choice but to go home and work after the war, but they would not think of that either.

ROBERT JARVIS.

MEETING OF PARTY MEMBERS

at
HEAD OFFICE, 52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4
on

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th, at 3 p.m.

to discuss the report of the
"SOCIALIST STANDARD" Investigation Committee

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Outdoor Propaganda. When the reports are all to hand, it is hoped that they will make good reading for the propaganda work done in London and the Provinces during the summer, despite the very poor weather. A brief report of the Nottingham visit by the Central Organiser which was presented for the Delegate Meeting shows that excellent work was done and that the members in Nottingham have put in some good ground work.

Camberwell Branch now meets on MONDAYS at Head Office—usual time, 8 p.m.

Delegate Meetings this year will be held at Head Office on Saturday and Sunday, October 4th and 5th. A notice of times is shown elsewhere in this issue.

Sunday Film Shows will again be given at Head Office in October and a programme of the first series will be given in the October STANDARD.

Bloomsbury Branch. Another reminder that on the first Thursday in each month from September 4th discussions will be held at 8.30 p.m. at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. The first will be on Crises and the discussion will be opened by Comrade Hardy. On October 2nd Gilmac will speak on "Can the Military get Control?"



Chelsea and Fulham Branch. During the spring and summer the branch have held a number of very successful discussions with the aid of L.P. records. A number of queries and suggestions have been received and on one occasion the Branch was visited by a member of the Socialist Party of New Zealand. For the autumn and up to Christmas the Branch will be holding a series of educational lectures. These will be held on alternate Thursdays to Branch nights; so that the lectures and discussions will not be encumbered by branch business. All readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD living in the district will be more than welcome.

P.H.

WHAT PRICE REFORM?

MANY a social reform since embodied in legislation became law not because the ruling class or its political representatives were moved by the plight of certain sections of the population, but primarily because advantages accrued to capitalism. Not benevolence but the profit consideration was the motive.

A great deal of evidence is available to substantiate this view, and that it actually accumulates almost daily is evident from what follows. In two days' issues of the *Manchester Guardian* were found the following three examples.

One: Speaking of the position of young widows with children and the inadequacy of their Widows' Allowances so that "they simply had not enough money to live on" and were being forced to put their children in nurseries and go out to work, Dr. J. C. Heenan, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool, commented: "It need hardly be said that it costs the country more to maintain nurseries than it would do to give widows adequate allowances." (March 27th, 1958.)

Two: On the 25th of March the Maintenance Orders Bill was before the House of Commons. Now, this Bill is ostensibly designed to ensure that any man who deserts his wife and has had a Court Order for maintenance made out against him will not be able to bilk payment by simply moving about from place to place. The method by which it is hoped to ensure this is by an attachment of the man's earnings, a form of P.A.Y.E. The essential point here is not the advantage that there may be for the women, but again the L.S.D. motive. Mr. Renton, Joint Under-Secretary to the Home Office, moving the third reading of the Bill, stated that the Bill dealt with the problem of a woman who could not get maintenance and

a man who drifted into prison because he had failed to keep up regular payments more by incompetence than by malice. Continuing, he said: "More than 3,000 prisoners were now sleeping three in a cell. Prisoners are costing us (sic) nearly £6 per week per head and we ought to try and avoid sending thousands of men a year to prison for defaulting payment." (March 26th, 1958.)

And, three: In 1955 a Committee was appointed by the Minister of Labour to investigate "industrial health." The Report of this Committee's first survey was published on the 26th of March, and it was given some prominence by the *Manchester Guardian* devoting an editorial to it, headed, "Keeping Well at Work." Among other things, the editorial informed us that in over one in four of nearly 800 workplaces visited in Halifax (employing some 7,700 people) washing facilities and general cleanliness were considered unsatisfactory. And Halifax was chosen not because its regarded as particularly unhealthy in any way but because it is "a concise industrial town with a fair diversity of industries." The editorial's summing-up paragraph is a little masterpiece of simple, lucid *Guardian* language. "It is both more profitable and more sensible to spend money on keeping people well than to grant sick leave; and the best work is usually done in the best-kept places." (March 26th, 1958.)

And there you have the Holiest of all Holy Trinity—Church, State, and Press—lamenting the plight of young widows, deserted wives, and the working-class in general; yet withal their reforming zeal and burning fervour against injustices never leaving out monetary calculations, but all the time carefully weighing the price of one reform against another.

CHRIS. WALSH.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

SEPTEMBER



1958

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone: MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

FAIR SHARES IN MISERY

IF somewhere in the universe there were beings who had learned to run social affairs on a sensible, socialist, basis, and if some writer there offered to his readers a factual account of our trade union movement, they wouldn't believe him. They would say that it just is not possible that men and women who possess such industrial skill, knowledge and capacity could behave as shortsightedly as they do.

This thought is prompted by the report of proceedings at the conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions on August 13th. We quote from the *Evening News*:—

"The two giant unions of the 'Little TUC'—the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions—clashed to-day over what should be done about the 'sack'."

"At the Confederation's annual conference at Paignton, the 1,300,000-strong Transport and General Workers' Union pressed a four-point plan to 'cushion' workers faced with dismissal."

"They demanded full consultation with the unions on the selection of workers to be sacked, plus cash compensation."

"The Amalgamated Engineering Union, Britain's second biggest union, took the opposite line. They demanded that nobody should be sacked unless alternative work was found and that work-sharing schemes should be introduced."

"The split widened when Mr. Les Kealey, national engineering officer of the transport union warned the 40 unions represented at the conference that workers generally are not willing to 'share the misery' when it comes to dismissals."

If the two propositions may be thought to represent the lowest possible level of what passes as thought in the trade union movement, the long discussion that followed was even worse; with such ancient fatuities as "getting

down to the basic principle of the right to work" and "work or maintenance."

It was a relief and no surprise to read in the stop press news that it had ended with a typically pious and meaningless formula:—

"Announced at Paignton conference that TGWU and AEU had reached agreement on redundancy, with policy declaration that district committees and shop stewards should do all possible to ensure minimum of hardship."

Of course the trade union officials and delegates who drafted those statements and made those speeches will defend them. They will say that it is all very well to be theoretical but, things being what they are, trade unions have to be practical. They have to recognise that as the employers have more workers than they need the misery of unemployment in one form or another has to be accepted.

To which the socialist reply is that things don't have to be what they are.

What is the problem the workers are facing? They have produced for the employers more than the latter can profitably sell at the present time, so many workers are threatened with the sack; which means that they will fall from the employed workers' standard of living to that of the unemployed. So they spend a day arguing whether the added misery should be spread evenly or in lumps. And to make even this ludicrous choice between evils they have to get the consent of the employers, who are masters of the situation. What makes the employers masters of the situation? The government does. How does the government come to be in this position? It was voted there by the electors. Who form 90 per cent. of the electors? The workers do. In whose hands therefore does the remedy lie? In the hands of workers like those who sent delegates to the Paignton conference to waste their time with nonsense calculated to make the angels weep, and who send M.P.s to Parliament.

What should be done? The answer is, or ought to be, obvious. The workers, who conduct all the processes of production from top to bottom, at present do so on behalf of the capitalist class who are the owners of the means of production and the products. This is capitalism and it exists all over the world, but it is not a necessity; it is a man-made arrangement that the working class can end when they will. When they choose to end it by introducing Socialism, production will be solely for the use of the population. Men's livelihood will no longer be dependent on the willingness of employer to employ them. And the notion that, as production rises above a certain level (determined by profit) the standard of living of the wealth producers should be reduced will appear as absurd and irrelevant as the "remedies" discussed at the Shipbuilding and Engineering Conference.

FIFTY YEARS AGO—continued from page 141

Hours Day, state in considering the result of a general reduction of the hours of labour in all trades that

"The successive reductions of the hours of labour which this century has witnessed have been attended, after a very short interval, by a positive general increase in individual productivity. In many cases it has been found that the workers did more in ten hours than their predecessors in twelve. The effort to get more than a certain amount of work out of a man defeats itself."—(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, September, 1908.)

CORRESPONDENCE

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

Greenford, Middlesex.

30/7/58.

Dear Sir,

The article by G. R. Russell on the above subject will do little to further the cause of Socialism as both Sir Hartley Shawcross and Mr. Ewen Montague spoke the truth.

I live on a Council Estate which is really well laid out, grass plots and verges, tree lined roads, and good gardens and there is a Park less than five minutes away where the children can play any game they like. The houses are well built, have parquet floors, central heating, half tiled kitchens, lavatories and bathrooms. The tenants include teachers, store managers, civil servants, etc., etc. Hardly a house (except my own) has less than £15 per week coming in.

One would think that under such circumstances the children would play in the Park and other open spaces provided, but do they? Oh no, its the streets, sitting in the gutters and on the grass plots under the shadow of notices prohibiting such action.

Not long ago three of the boys watched a family go out and promptly broke in, stealing money and articles. Opposite me, a house was being built privately; a work hut with glass along one side, was erected and within five minutes of the owner leaving not a pane was left intact. Later bricks, neatly stacked, were scattered to the four winds and later still, the entire glass in the windows had to be renewed three times. They even broke in and knocked holes in the dividing walls.

Was all this due to "environment" of either parents or children? Was it hell. It was due to lack of parental control and failure in home and school to teach the difference between "Mine" and "Thine."

Yours faithfully,

B. S. ANDERSON.

REPLY.

The article to which our correspondent refers ("Juvenile Delinquents Again" July S.S.) commented on the question posed in the *Yorkshire Post* as to whether the current "light regard for morals or a weakening sense of responsibility" may be encouraged by "something in the nature of the society we have built up." Our contributor, in his article, answered the question with a yes! and dismissed as superficial Sir Hartley Shawcross's and Mr. Ewen Montague's attitude of laying the blame on

parents without mention of "environment and conditions of poverty."

It is true that our contributor illustrated his case against the capitalist environment in which we live by examples of bad housing and sunless streets, etc., but the case is not against merely the worst conditions but against capitalism itself.

Our correspondent's examples taken from an area where the workers are more highly paid and better housed does not meet the Socialist case.

To start with, we would want to know much more about the problems of the parents who live there than the bare statement that most of the homes are believed to have £15 a week coming in (not exactly a princely sum to meet the cost of a family anyway). How many wage earners are there to a household; how many of the wives have to go out to work; what are the outgoings on rent and mortgages. A recent article on the similar troubles of the new town of Stevenage may give us a clue. It is a brand new town, with brand new houses, but, says the local Catholic priest, "Families are up to the neck in debt and their big worry is only whether they can keep the H.P. going on the telly" (*Empire News*, 10th August, 1958). The same article instances a family of six with an income of £13 18s., but after paying for rent, food and other outgoings (including 57s. for rent and 17s. 6d. H.P. repayments on T.V. and carpets) all they have left to buy clothes "and daily tit-bits," etc., is 31s. 3d. a week.

But these are only a small part of the "environment" with which we, as Socialists, are concerned. The children of rich and poor live in different kinds of houses and neighbourhoods, but they all, and their parents too, live in a world given over to wholesale waste, personal and governmental, and to destruction, instability and the ever present threat of war.

Our correspondent wants the parents and teachers to shoulder their responsibility of teaching the difference between "mine" and "thine"; but how will this solve the problem? He asks them to hold with conviction and pass on to the young, the faith that respect for property is of paramount importance for their happiness. But how can the adults or the young find this a sufficient doctrine against the background of capitalism which constitutes the environment in which they live.

ED. COMM.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Shorter Working Hours and Unemployed

The speeding up of the workman, the evergrowing intensity of the labour exacted from him, renders imperative a longer repose so that he may recuperate his working strength and maintain his maximum productivity. Hence flows the modern tendency toward shorter hours so that the profitability of the worker to the capitalist may increase. It is the necessary and inevitable outcome of modern industrial conditions, even from the capitalist point of view, and is by no means a sign of victory over the ruling class. If the champions of the eight-hour day were to confine themselves to stating the truth about their

pet reform there would be little need to quarrel with them, but when they claim as one of the virtues of the eight-hour day that it will abolish or greatly reduce unemployment, we join issue. . . .

In the present instance, if the reduction of working class hours is to bring about more employment, it could only be by decreasing the output per man, and providing work by causing the employment of more men to produce the same amount as before. But would it have very much effect? So far as positive evidence goes, it is directly against any presumption of a lessening of the present output per man. Even past masters of the art of red-herring trailing give themselves away at times. Thus Sidney Webb and Harold Cox in the book, *The Eight*

Continued at foot of previous page

MOTIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

FOLLOWING the Iraq *coup d'état*, the working class has been subjected to a tremendous amount of propaganda. The press and radio have been calling for varying degrees of support or antagonism according to whichever sectional or national interest they represent. It falls to the Socialist Party, with our unqualified opposition to every capitalist faction, to interpret the events objectively and to state the true position of the workers in relation to them.

Throughout history the Middle East has been invaded or dominated, due to its location as the bridge between Europe, Africa and the Far East. Since the demand for oil has arisen, its strategic importance has been almost eclipsed by this most essential of fuels. These are the causes of the struggle for supremacy in this area. The conflict between American and British oil interests has been overshadowed now by the threat of Russian encroachment. In 1950 the U.S. controlled only 44 per cent. of production against 53 per cent. by Britain and Holland (in Royal Dutch Shell), but by 1956 the American percentage had grown to 57 per cent. while the U.K.'s share had fallen to 35 per cent. The outstanding example is Iran. Before the Abadan incident, all Iranian oil passed through British hands. The agreement reached after the failure of out-and-out nationalisation saw the establishment of an International Consortium to buy the oil from the Iranian Government. The Consortium is divided as between Britain 54 per cent., U.S. 40 per cent., France 6 per cent. Production throughout the Middle East has doubled since 1950 so that U.K. companies are showing increased profits, but this only masks the real decline of British holdings.

In keeping with its status as a world power, the Soviet Union is greatly interested in the Middle East. As with all capitalist states, Russian foreign policy is directed at seizure of the fields. This aim—an extension of Czarist policies—came close to partial achievement following the Second World War. In 1946 a treaty was forced on the Iranian Government, forming a Soviet dominated company with concessions in Northern Iran—this area still being under Russian military occupation. After the troops withdrew Iran, with Anglo-U.S. backing, repudiated the agreement. Now posing as the Arabs' friend, Russia has increased its propaganda in the hope of building Communist parties capable of taking over and attaching the oil nations to the Soviet bloc.

The Egyptian capitalist class, spear-headed by Nasser, is also trying to gain access to the oil sources. To gain this object they have some indisputable advantages over their rivals. Most Arab workers feel that the sole barrier to better conditions is the dominance of Western nations. Exploiting this conviction, Nasser has persuaded many Arabs that he is the only man capable of obtaining and maintaining their departure. He has been greatly assisted by Russia, which has supplied arms and money, and by the abortive Anglo-French Suez landing. Although Russia and Egypt are momentarily allied doubtless time will generate the usual frictions.

Although Egyptian policy has won many supporters among the Arab workers, the capitalists of the Middle East oil producing nations are not enthusiastic about coming under Egyptian dominance. This lack of enthusiasm has led to a reluctance to join the United Arab Republic and so share the revenues with the Egyptians.

Even the new Iraq Government shows no desire for integration.

Against this sordid background, shorn of the normal camouflage about "safeguarding our national livelihood" or "safeguarding the political independence of the Arab peoples," the Iraqi rising and the subsequent manoeuvring can be seen in their true perspective. At the overthrow of the monarchy, agreements between the Royal Government and the oil companies were on the standard 50/50 basis. This 50/50 division of the spoils has recently been cracking. Earlier this year contracts between the Japanese and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait led to the Arab States receiving a 56 per cent. and 57 per cent. share respectively. Much speculation has been aroused on the outcome of these and similar agreements. In its March publication the Petroleum Press Service asked, "Are we going to see governments of some of the main producing countries seeking changes in the existing agreements?" Shortly before the revolution the Iraq Minister of Economics held talks with the Iraq Petroleum Co., after which it was announced that the Iraq Petroleum Co. would surrender certain areas held under concession. No doubt Feisal's Government intended to lease these areas to other companies in keeping with the new rates, but as the 50/50 still applied to the I.P.C., which controls the majority of the output, the net gain was somewhat niggardly. The report on these talks was announced on the 13th July—the coup began on the 14th! Though reports suggest that the revolution was planned in advance, the timing appears more than coincidental. The rebels felt, no doubt, that Feisal and Nuri-es-Said were too bound by their earlier agreements to obtain better terms and a completely new government would have more success. Premier Kassen has stated "the new Iraqi Government would be able better to safeguard oil interests than previous governments." We can now expect the Republicans to negotiate a fresh agreement with the I.P.C. on a par with the recent precedents.

Western capitalism is probably resigned to this course in moderation ("any Iraq Government will make greater demands on the producing companies"—*Financial Times*, 16/7/58), but exorbitant demands will be strongly resisted. The landings in Lebanon and Jordan after the revolt were ostensibly to bolster friendly governments, but it has not escaped the attention of the U.K. and U.S. authorities that there are advantages in controlling these countries should discussions break down. The head of the main pipeline from Iraq is situated in Lebanon and could be closed to impede any attempt by the Iraqis to market the oil themselves. And the British troops in Jordan are on hand should intervention be deemed necessary. The stakes are high enough for our masters to contemplate it!

The turnover has been approximately £150 million annually and attempts are being made to double production by 1960. As has been stated, the overwhelming proportion of Iraqi oil passes through the Iraq Petroleum Co. and its subsidiaries. 95 per cent. of the I.P.C.'s shares are divided equally between British Petroleum, Shell, the Cie. Française de Pétroles (in which the French Government has a large interest), and the North Eastern Development Corporation—an American company controlled by Socony Mobil Oil and Esso. The remaining 5 per cent. is owned by the Gulkenkian Foundation, although negotiations are afoot to buy 1½ per cent. of these by the C. F.

de P. This would then make the French organisation the largest individual shareholder. The interest of the West in the welfare of the I.P.C. is evident.

Previous examples have shown that when nations are competing for such a rich prize open hostilities can result. Although it is by no means certain that armed conflict, either local or world-wide, will immediately arise out of the present situation, it is certain it will be the working class who will bear the brunt of any fighting—AND FOR NOTHING! It will make no difference to the working class whichever capitalist group controls the oil fields. Arabs, who believe that complete national control of a country's resources will benefit the workers, are advised to study the contemporary histories of the Sudan, Indo-

nesia, etc. Supporters of the Communist Party should compare current Russian Middle East behaviour with the Soviet/Persian Treaty of Friendship of 1921, before lending support to its imperialist policy. Article 8 of this treaty contains the following: "Federal Russia finally renounces the economic policy pursued in the East by the Czarist Government, which consisted in lending money to the Persian Government, not with a view to the economic development of the country, but rather for the purposes of political subjugation." Western workers, instead of being bellicose on the masters' behalf, should be concerned with the struggle against both Eastern and Western capitalism and for the establishment of Socialism; only then will oil cease to feed the flames of hatred.

ESSIG.

THEATRE

TWENTY YEARS AFTER

IN his play, "Chicken Soup with Barley" (Royal Court Theatre), the young Jewish writer, Arnold Wesker, born of Hungarian-Russian parents in the East End of London, gives us glimpses into the world in which he grew up, through the history of a Jewish family from 1936 to 1956, to show the gradual disintegration of a political ideal—the Communist Party.

The play opens at the time of the Blackshirts' marches on the Jewish East End. We are immediately caught up in the excitement of young Communists fighting the Fascists on their doorstep and at the same time looking eagerly towards the crusade in Spain, to the front line. It seemed to them as though any fight with the Red Flag flying was the good fight, a blow for the future, whether in the workshops, the streets or on Jarama Ridge. To Sarah Kahn, her family and friends, out of the ceaseless struggle would come—something. And in the East: Moscow. The Red star still glowed as to them the god had not yet failed.

The war plans are bypassed, and with the end of the war the pattern has changed; there is a strange emptiness now. The Communist Party is somewhere in the background, but the group has naturally been broken up by the war. Gradually they go their various ways; a greengrocer's shop in Manchester, a handicraft furniture business in the Cotswolds. The unity and urgency has gone; to each his own salvation. But Sarah Kahn is still the same, carrying on her fight against the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker, and against her husband Harry, a drifter of a man who could never hold a job down and to whom even in the old days the party was just something that happened to be around, like his wife and the boys. For Sarah Kahn nothing has changed much, life is still fighting and caring.

Her son Ronnie Kahn, now grown up, carries with him the thread of the past, an enthusiasm for the "Left," together with an ambition to write, to write about the working class life he knows, to express its culture and hopes for the future. One day in 1956 he returns home after working in Paris, a shattered man, one of many whose belief in the great Russian myth had been destroyed by the Hungarian revolt, and with it, his desire to write. Against Harry, now a paralysed wreck of a man after suffering a stroke, Sarah's struggle is almost over, but her son now stands in his place. At all costs to be saved from becoming as his father had been. But "If you don't care, you will die," she says.

This is where the play leaves us, and gives, as its political injunction, that we must simply "care!" The retreat from an illusion has left nothing but a little infused hope that may ease the agony and make life bearable. And perhaps—sometime—who knows?

For thousands a political idea is dead. But those people who take their political philosophy on trust must not be surprised if that trust is forsaken and their ideals turned to ashes. So much for so little. But the tragedy is great.

I. D. J.

WHY CYPRUS IS IMPORTANT

Should anyone have lingering doubts about why the British Government is making such determined efforts to keep control of Cyprus, the following remarks from an authoritative source may help to dispel the doubts.

Field-Marshal Lord Harding, previous Governor of Cyprus, writing in the *Daily Express* on 6th August about his meetings with Makarios, has this to say:—

"I told him that we needed the use of the island for military purposes for an indefinite period because of our obligations to our Allies and friends and the unsettled state of the whole Middle East area, exposed as it was to the threat of international Communism."

Thus all the high-flown sentiments about helping its Greek and Turkish Cypriots is just diplomatic window dressing. The real soiled goods are in the shop behind.

GILMAC.

OBITUARY

It is with deep regret that we report the sudden death on 15th July of Comrade Len Plummer, from a heart attack. Comrade Plummer joined Wickford Branch a year after its formation, having transferred from Palmers Green Branch (he joined the Party in July, 1952). His work as Secretary, the free and open use of his house as meeting place, in addition to his sterling work in co-operation with his branch comrades made him a powerful influence in a young and struggling branch. That effort now blossoming into a promising and influential re-named Basildon Branch with increased membership, will remain a testimonial to the membership of our friend. His going will be sadly missed by Branch comrades, compensated by the knowledge that his last days were made happy by the encouraging results of the branch. To his relatives we extend our deepest sympathy.

"WE HAVE BEEN HERE BEFORE!"

"I F I had kept a diary for the last twenty-four years and inscribed in it all the devotion and self-sacrifice which I came across in the Socialist movement, the reader of such a diary would have had the word 'heroism' constantly on his lips. But the men I would have spoken of were not heroes; they were average men, inspired by a grand idea. Every Socialist newspaper has the same history of years of sacrifice without any hope of reward, and in the overwhelming majority of cases, even without any personal ambition. I have seen families living without knowing what would be their food tomorrow, the husband boycotted all round in his little town for his part in the paper, and the wife supporting the family by sewing, and such a situation lasting for years, until the family would retire, without a word of reproach, simply saying: 'Comrades, we can hold on no more!'"

I have seen men, dying from consumption, and knowing it, and yet knocking about in snow and fog to prepare meetings, and speaking at meetings within a few weeks from death, and only then retiring to the hospital with

the words: 'Now, friends, I am done; the doctors say I have but a few weeks to live. Tell the comrades that I shall be happy if they come and see me.' I have seen facts which would be described as 'idealisation' if I told them in this place; and the names of these very men, hardly known outside a narrow circle of friends, will soon be forgotten when the friends, too, have passed away. In fact, I don't know myself which most to admire, the unbounded devotion of these few, or the sum total of petty acts of devotion of the great number. Every quire of a penny paper sold, every meeting, every hundred votes which are won at a Socialist election, represent an amount of energy and sacrifice of which no outsider has the faintest idea. And what is now done by Socialists has been done in every popular and advanced party, political and religious, in the past.

All past progress has been prompted by like men and by a like devotion."—(From *Mutual Aid*, by Prince Petr Kropotkin, Pelican Book A.49.)

RESOLUTIONS AGAINST H BOMBS

"THE meeting abhors the use of 'H' bomb and calls upon the Government to stop 'H' bomb tests, and participate in a Summit Conference."

How often have we seen this type of resolution passed at a variety of trade union and other meetings. They all seem to have the same effect, as a knock on the door of an empty house.

The ritual, too, is exactly the same. The mover reads out a few of the possible horrors of "H" bomb warfare, and scares the pants off everyone. He is then followed by speaker after speaker in the same vein. Then the vote is taken, carried unanimously, and everyone is happy (or are they?).

The writer is sorry to make so light of it all, as he knows that some well-meaning folk really believe that this is the way to get rid of "H" bombs, and then go on to general disarmament. But you know its all been tried before, and as history shows its all failed before too.

First, let the Socialist point out that the problem of the "H" bomb is inseparable from war; which in turn is inseparable from the system of society in which we live.

This system produces poverty, insecurity, disease, and all the vicious things that stem from those, and it gives rise to the wars for which governments are constantly preparing.

The Socialist doesn't raise these points just to be awkward, or to be academically correct. The writer has three little children, and realises that the stakes are very high: in fact the possible extermination of many of us.

But resolutions of disapproval of war, and of certain methods of warfare, have all been passed before. They

have all had no effect.

Pacts have been made, international organisations have been set up, in fact every method of getting real peace, and disarmament has been tried except Socialism.

Time and time again the Socialist has demonstrated that war stems from capitalist struggles for markets, trade routes, sources of raw materials, and places of strategic importance. All this springs from the production for sale, with a profit motive for a small section of society, the capitalists. This in itself works against the interest of the overwhelming majority of society, the working class.

This "working class" is in every "nation" and faced with exactly the same problems as the "working class" of England. So it is at this level that international conferences must take place, and it must be international conferences for Socialism.

The leaders of the major "nations" will be conferring in the interest of the particular units of capitalism they represent. Trying to fiddle the spoils of war, without actually going to war, and trusting each other about as much as the proverbial cat and mouse.

If anybody can really delude themselves into believing that out of conferences of this nature the "Peace of the World" will come, their gullibility can know no bounds.

It goes deeper than this, for these resolutions are "red herrings" and "time wasters." We have a job to do, in this century, the establishment of Socialism, and while workers are pursuing these dreams, they are falling down on their historically appointed task.

T. LORD.

A WORLD TO WIN

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains.

They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries Unite!"

These are the words of Marx and Engels in their famous Manifesto of 1848, and although that is now 110

years ago, there is a message contained in those words which is of the greatest importance to the working men of all countries in 1958.

In 1848 our present system, capitalism, was just beginning. Although it had existed in England for a considerable time, the last remnants of an earlier system,

Feudalism still existed in Europe, and Russia. Most of the rest of the world was still completely undeveloped industrially and was operating under the old feudal order of things. This meant that the working class, a class of wage earners or proletarians, as Marx and Engels called them, had yet to emerge. By far the great majority of people were peasants.

The idea of an international system, the whole world as one community, could not have had any significance under feudalism. The village and farm life of people working on the land and rarely leaving these confines, the scanty means of communication, the general isolation of one part of the world from another, and the inability of most people to read and write, all this would go against any world-wide concept of things.

With the development of trade, once England, the pioneer of capitalism, had broken trail, others began to follow suit. The appearance of capitalism has been sometimes gradual, sometimes more rapid, in various parts of the world. There are a number of reasons for this uneven growth but the important thing is that those countries which have been slow to start, China, India, etc., make rapid strides once they embark on the building up of capitalism.

These rapid strides are sometimes quite misunderstood, and taken to be something entirely different. Many people, including adherents of the so-called Communist Party, believe they can see Socialism in Russia chiefly because of the vast and speedy development of modern industrial techniques.

The fact that Russian industry is run by the State makes the confusion more persistent, but when one realises, as Marx and Engels did, that the State is necessarily a CLASS instrument it is then easy to understand that with wages, buying and selling and profits, not to mention war machines, Russia has all the fundamental features of capitalism and in fact is a capitalist country.

COMMUNIST PARTY TACTICS EXPOSED

SOCIALISTS are often told by members of the so-called "Communist" Party, in their endeavours to excuse the strange somersaults of a Party professing working class interests, that such behaviour is merely "tactical manoeuvres" on the political front.

The latest sample of—"Tactics, Comrade" comes from the upheaval in France among the ruling clique over their difficulties in Algeria. It shows just what anti-working class actions this tactic can lead to.

We take the following extracts from their own beloved organ—that fighter for working class CONFUSION—the *Daily Worker* of May 17th:—

"The special powers asked for by the Premier Pflimlin—which would automatically lapse if the Government fell—gave the authorities the right to close any public buildings, to impose a curfew, the right of search, the censorship and control of the Press, Radio and other means of communication, the right to order house arrest, to forbid movement of traffic or people.

"The group of 150 Communist M.P.s decided before the National Assembly Meeting this morning to vote for the powers under the present circumstances. Jacques Duclos, leader of the group, told the National Assembly! . . .

"The danger is great—the government of the Republic must present a solid front. The Communist Party will take part with all its forces in the defence of the Republican institutions. Considering the circumstances, the Communist group will vote for those special powers." (*Daily Worker*, 17th May, 1958.)

If voting for such powers of coercion as outlined in the

To Marxists it is elementary that the existence of wage-labour means that a class exists which owns nothing but the ability to work.

It is not at all the concern of Socialists to deny the tremendous technical and scientific advances since Marx's time. It is in fact this very development which provides the material basis for the class-less world of abundance—Socialism. What makes Marx so important is the fact that, with all these technical advances, the workers of all lands are still cut off from ownership in the means of wealth production which they operate for the profit of a privileged minority of owners.

Because of this ownership by a few, and for no other reason, the world, which no longer needs to be a number of isolated parts, is still marked off into absurd frontiers involving ridiculous passports and Customs barriers, with each national ruling class jealously guarding their loot against the others.

So in 1958 the world is a seething mass of tension and anxiety. Vast armaments are poised at bases all over the world, including "H" bombs, in case one ruling class group should attempt to grab the oil, rubber or other economic assets of another. The Hydrogen bomb itself cannot be separated from scientific development under capitalism.

In 1958 it is as true as ever that housing problems, hire purchase, tally-men, and the general struggle to get by are the lot of the productive working class, while their non-productive masters enjoy the best, and follow the sun.

For a world of plenty and happiness without wars and poverty, it remains for the workers of the world to see that they are in the same predicament and that flags and nations do not matter. Then this great potential which capitalism has built, only to stifle for profits, will be a reality and, free from our chains, the world will belong to all mankind.

H. B.

Daily Worker report has anything to do with the struggle of the working class for Socialism—then the moon certainly must be made of "green cheese!"

One more indictment of the Communists is contained in the following telegram sent by the British Communist Party to the Communist Party of France:—

"In this hour of grave menace of the renewed offensive of Fascist and Militarist reaction in France, we express to you, dear Comrades of the French Communist Party, our solidarity with you and with all people in the fight for the defence of democracy.

"The shameful attempted coup of the same reactionary militarist elements who betrayed France to Nazism and who torture Algerian Patriots, has aroused universal anger and disgust in Britain.

"The immediate response and leadership of the French Communist Party has won Universal admiration. The interests of the French and British peoples are indissolubly united in the fight against Fascism.

"Signed by—John Gollan, Harry Pollitt and R. Palme Dutt." (*Daily Worker*, 17th May, 1958.)

Little remains to be said. From the above it will be seen by all workers understanding Socialism that the signatures to this telegram could just as easily have been—Winston Churchill, D. Eisenhower and Earl Attlee! Indeed, the phraseology is reminiscent of the Churchillian exhortations in the days when "Comrade" Stalin was his ally.

G. R. RUSSELL.

THE ANTI-SOCIALIST FRONT

"Make certain we keep the Socialists out next time—this is what we ask you to do."

ALMOST every day some new group or sect thrusts itself upon the political scene. "A New Workers' Party" is born one day; "A League for the Defence of Freedom against the tyranny of Trade Unions" the next. They come—and go. The latest appears to be "The Anti-Socialist Front"; an organisation sponsored by a long list of "horny-handed sons of toil" and well-known champions of the working class, which include the Earl of Mexborough, Lord Moynihan, the Dowager Viscountess Trenchard, Sir Alexander Anderson, General Sir Evelyn Barker, Lady Katherine Beresford-Peirse, Air Vice-Marshal Donald Bennett and many other Sirs, Major-Generals and Colonels.

Being a brand new group they felt that it was their sacred duty to let the "general public," their fellow-workers, hear the good news. The world must be told "the truth." Therefore, rumour has it, Major Duncan Keith-Shaw removed his top hat (or was it his deer-stalker?) and asked for a few coppers (£1,000 cheques will do!) from each of those present. Well . . . to cut a long story short, by tremendous sacrifices (such as cutting down on fags and beer) our "Front" members ultimately scraped up a mere £2,650, and invested in a full-page advertisement in the *Daily Telegraph* of July 15th, 1958.

The crusade had begun. At last the world had been told the awful truth! "Most of the evils of our time stem from Socialism, either the full-blooded kind of a Socialist administration or the watered down concoction favoured by the present Government." That's the stuff. Expose that "red" MacMillan! Purge the "Socialist Revolutionary," Dr. Charles Hill! These "Socialist infiltrators" in the Conservative Party are ruining the country, losing the Empire and weakening private enterprise, by gad! But worse is to come. For despite "most of the evils" which we are told are caused by this non-existent Socialism that our Anti-Socialist Front imagines exists in Conservative-run capitalist Britain today, we are also warned that "Under a Socialist Government we might well become bankrupt!" Now this complicates matters somewhat, because we are not quite certain what is meant by this rather startling remark. If by a "Socialist Government" our "Front" really means a Labour Government, which we suspect, then it seems very unlikely that "we (meaning our lord- and ladyships) might well become bankrupt." For, as far as we know, very few concerns became bankrupt under previous Labour Governments. On the other hand during the last two Labour administrations, the number of millionaires increased, which only shows how ignorant our so-called Anti-Socialist Front can get. Still, if the Dowager Viscountess Trenchard, Major-General Sir Basil A. Hill or any other sponsors of the Anti-Socialist Front is a reader of this journal, we can give them some information—quite freely. In a Socialist society they will be bankrupt in the sense that the employing class will no longer exist; that is as an employing, exploiting class. They won't even have any bank accounts, no banks to go to. For, like the rest of the community, they will —we hope!—work, to the best of their ability, and will get from society not rent, interest or profit, but like everyone else, just what they need. Or is such an idea, such a state of affairs, beyond the ken of these "Anti-Socialist"

crusaders? To these people, as with many others, workers included, Socialism means government control, nationalisation of industries, bulk buying and the like. And because of this they liken the Labour Party to Socialists. They even call the British Labour Party a Socialist Party—the Socialist Party.

"The Socialist Party," we are told, "is only the political end of the trade union movement, with its tyrannical and selfish aims." Tyrannical and selfish aims! Because some trade unionists understand their subject position in our present society, because some workers continue to fight for better conditions and more pay, these Major-Generals and Dowager Viscountesses consider them selfish! Its a pity some trade unionists—and other workers—are not a little more selfish.

What, then, is the solution to the evils of "Socialism" (i.e. Conservative and Labour administration of our capitalist society)? How does the "Front" intend to save us from "Socialist tyranny"? Firstly, it is "to bring home to the general public the disastrous consequence to every man, woman and child in the country of nationalisation or renationalisation"—which, as we have previously said, has nothing to do with Socialism. Secondly, to prevent Conservatives and Liberals (they all worry about the dead-but-it-won't-lie-down Liberal corpse) from splitting the "Anti-Socialist" (read Labour) vote in marginal constituencies, by adopting the following formula:—

—In Conservative-held marginal seats no Liberal candidate to stand at the next General Election, and Liberals to vote for the Conservatives.

—In Labour-held marginal seats no Conservative candidate to stand and Conservatives to vote for the Liberal. And the Anti-Socialist Front's third bright idea for solving "most of the evils of our time . . ." is "to persuade the Government to give an undertaking that it will include the alternative vote in the programme on which it will fight the next General Election."

These, then, are the "revolutionary" proposals that the Anti-Socialist Front considers is worth £2,650 to advertise in the *Daily Telegraph*. And for those who may be interested they intend raising an "initial" Propaganda Fund of a mere £100,000. For our part, without the thousands of pounds, we will continue to propagate Socialism (not the spurious invention that the Anti-Socialist Front calls Socialism) as the solution to "most of the evils of our time . . ." We do not expect any help from retired Colonels, Air Vice-Marshals or Lords and Ladies. Only capitalism can expect such help.

PETER E. NEWELL.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

Meet Thursday evenings at 8 p.m.
at 668 Fulham Road, S.W.6
(Wilcox, Nr. Munster Rd.)

September 4th:

"A recorded collection of Negro folk songs, sung and played by Brownie McGhee, Gene Moore and Sonny Terry, followed by an informal discussion."

All Welcome

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne. Sydney: 29, North Sydney. Box 2291, G.P.O. Sydney.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS



SUNDAYS

Hackney—Junct. of Hereford
St. and Cheshire St., E.11 ... 11 a.m.
Hyde Park ... 3.30—7 p.m.
East Street
(Walworth) September 7th 12.30 p.m.
" 14th 12.30 p.m.
" 21st 11 a.m.
" 28th 11 a.m.

Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS

Gloucester Road ... 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 p.m.

FRIDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road ... 8 p.m.
Kingston, Castle St. ... 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Finsbury Pavement ... Tuesdays
Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

MITCHAM DISCUSSION GROUP

at

"THE THREE KINGS"
Mitcham Fair Ground

Thursday, September 11th at 8 p.m.

"How To Avoid War" - - - E. Hardy

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

A series of lectures on Thursday evenings at 8 p.m. at
668 Fulham Road, S.W.6
(Wilcox, Nr. Munster Rd.)

September 11th "A Socialist Approach to History"—
FRANK EVANS.

September 25th "The Labour Theory of Value"—
E. W. WILLMOTT.

October 9th "Crises"—E. HARDY.

October 23rd "Surplus Value"—E. WILLMOTT

November 13th "The New Intelligentsia."—LISA
BRYAN

November 27th "Historical Materialism."—FRANK
EVANS

December 11th "Science and Society."—FRED
WARLOW.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTHENHAM—Secretary, Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

BRISTOL—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER Sec.: J. M. Breakey, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. 'Phone: D1Dsbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Meets 4th Thursday in month at "Three Kings," Mitcham Fair Ground. Secretary: T. Lord, 288, Church Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT.—Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MA1 5163.

REDHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wella Rd., Pencool, Nr. Llanelli

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BASILDON (Previously Wickford). Branch meets on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m., at the Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence to Secretary, R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month at 7.30 p.m. (Sept. 4th and 18th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at 32 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles, Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 668 Fulham Rd, S.W.6, (Wilcox, nr. Munster Rd.). All correspondence to Secretary, L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrock, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (10th and 24th Sept.) at 8 p.m., The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (8th and 22nd Sept.) at 8 p.m., at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivimey, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m., (10th and 24th Sept.) 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st and 3rd Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbass, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WICKFORD see Basildon (top of column).

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 'Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at 118, Pelham Road, Wood Green, N. 22.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Rammy, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

THE AUTUMN DELEGATE MEETING

will be held at

Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

on Saturday and Sunday, October 4th and 5th

Commencing:

Saturday at 2.30 p.m. Sunday at 11.30 p.m.

PUBLICATION DATE OF
"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

PAMPHLETS

Questions of the Day	1/- (Post free 1/2)
The Socialist Party and War	1/- (" " 1/2)
Russia Since 1917	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Communist Manifesto and the Last Hundred Years	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Racial Problem—A Socialist Analysis	1/- (" " 1/2)
Socialism	4d. (" " 6d.)
Socialism or Federal Union ?	4d. (" " 6d.)
The Socialist Party : Its Principles and Policy	4d. (" " 6d.)
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism ?	4d. (" " 6d.)
Nationalisation or Socialism ?	6d. (" " 8d.)
Socialist Comment	6d. (" " 8d.)

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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No. 650 Vol. 54 October, 1958

NEXT YEAR'S T.U.C.

VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM

THEATRE

WILL FORMOSA TOUCH-
OFF WORLD WAR III?

PARLIAMENTARY FUND
APPEAL

Registered for transmission
to Canada

Monthly

Behind the Race Riots

RECENT DISTURBANCES IN NOTTINGHAM AND LONDON have brought up the question of the attitude between people of different colour; as if there must always be a fundamental difference in outlook and conduct between people with differently coloured skins.

Although on the surface the feeling associated with the recent disturbances is anti-white and anti-colour, and the rougher elements on both sides have taken the opportunity to turn this feeling into an occasion for rioting, the origin of the feeling has a deeper cause than just anti-colour.

The origin of the conflicting attitudes is fundamentally economic. Out of economic relationships arise emotions that take many forms which do not appear to have any connection with the relationships and are transformed into a variety of beliefs; for example, the false belief in the mental and moral superiority of people with white skins.

The conditions of capitalism produce a mental, or intellectual, atmosphere in which many conflicting attitudes flourish and older attitudes are modified. For instance, a pro-war and anti-war, a pro-religious and anti-religious, a pro-nationalist and anti-nationalist, and so on.

When the West Indians and Nigerians first came here in force there was no particular antipathy to them; there was only some amusement and admiration of their liveliness and colourful clothing, as well as the customary patronising attitude that is generally displayed towards any "foreigner," whatever his skin colour. Labour was scarce then and unemployment was practically non-existent. However, when unemployment began to grow and the housing question remained acute, sufferers, and prospective sufferers, looked around for something to blame their troubles on and newcomers, as always, appeared to them to be an obvious part cause of their sufferings. In these circumstances the general attitude towards coloured people began to change and they became scapegoats for a failure of capitalism to meet society's needs. In earlier times when there were few coloured people in England unemployment was common and the country was cluttered with overcrowded and festering slums. In those days part of the blame was put upon

Socialism has no Colour Bar

TWO IMPORTANT MEETINGS (see overleaf)

6^D

the Irish, or the Jews, or "foreigners" with white skins. Once this kind of idea is set going it becomes enlarged and transformed into many kinds of absurd views that are finally accepted and taken for granted by otherwise intelligent and reasonable people.

An illustration in another field furnishes an example of how outlooks that have a source in social conditions can suffer transformation.

The economic rivalries of sections of the capitalist class brought about the last two great wars. They had a purely economic origin. Yet patriotic feeling and feelings concerning democracy and justice became so emotionally stirred up that, on both sides of the conflict, wealthy young men from the ranks of the capitalist class were prepared to lay down their lives in the struggle in a fervour of blind idealism.

West Indians came to England because times were bad in their home country and they thought they could do better here. On the same ground thousands emigrate from England to the United States or the Dominions because they think they can make a better living there. In England working conditions were easier than the emigrants met in places like Canada and the emigrant took time to acclimatise himself to the faster pace and other conditions. Consequently, he was not at first made very welcome and employers were inclined to think him lazy. But they had to put up with him whilst labour was scarce. Similarly, the West Indian, who has been accustomed to a slower labouring speed, is not now as welcome on the job as he was when there were more jobs than job-seekers. But in time all workers become integrated with the conditions of the country in which they settle.

When workers are struggling for homes and jobs anything that appears to stand in their way becomes a menace to be got rid of, particularly when they see coloured people overflowing with life and expressing it in late and noisy hours. Consequently, the unusual influx of people from overseas was bound eventually to appear in the light of a menace, notwithstanding the fact that about 100,000 emigrants have left this country annually since the war and only a total of 200,000 coloured people have settled here during that time. (See *Evening Standard*, 10th September, 1958.)

Mr. Norman Manley, Chief Minister of Jamaica, has come over here to try to smooth out the difficulties that have arisen. He has made impassioned speeches, urging England "to preserve her reputation for being able to maintain in England absolutely decent inter-racial relationships." (*Evening Standard*, 10th September.) He has good reason for his passion. He got rid of a portion of his unemployed problem by the emigration of Jamaicans, and he doesn't want them back on his doorstep again.

It is worth mentioning another objection that has been urged, one concerning sex relationship. Many people are disturbed at seeing coloured men associating with white women. They base their antipathy on moral grounds, though the moral grounds do not appear to be so strong when white men associate with coloured women. The coloured man is at a disadvantage here because he is so easily distinguished, whereas his white brother associating in the same way with a white woman would generally pass unnoticed. However, on whatever grounds the arguments are based, the association has nothing to do with colour. It is still true that some white men, both at home and abroad, are pursuers of women of any colour.

One has only to remember the antipathy here to American soldiers during the war on account of the sex question. Further, it should be remembered that white soldiers who brought home Malayan, Chinese or Japanese wives incurred no odium, in spite of the differences in colour.

Now let us glance at another aspect of the subject.

Amongst white people belonging to the same country there has been bitter, and bloody, antagonism, as instanced by the civil wars in England, the United States, Germany, France, Russia, and Ireland. This, apart from the wars between European nations. But amongst coloured people there has been similar strife: the massacres in the struggle between India and Pakistan; the antagonism between the people of Northern and Southern Nigeria, the recent strife in Ceylon between the Tamils and

TWO PUBLIC MEETINGS

Socialism has no Colour Bar

DENISON HOUSE

296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12th, 7.30 p.m.

CO-OP. HALL

197 Mare Street, E.9

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8th, 7.30 p.m.

Sinhalese. No sooner was the new State of Ghana established than some of its coloured citizens were expelled. In South Africa and Kenya there is bitter antagonism between the Indians and black people. Again, there is everywhere oppression of poor coloured by rich coloured, just as there is oppression of poor whites by rich whites.

We may also note in passing that there are "wide boys" among the coloured just as there are among the white. One example will illustrate this. It is taken from a letter by a "London Landlady" that appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" for the 13th September. The landlady in question had been in the habit of letting her rooms to African, Indian, Chinese and European students and now and then had a bad tenant, which did not trouble her until she ran into the following difficulties:—

"The trouble really started when I had to remind a certain African tenant that he was in arrears with his rent. This immediately drew the comment that I was discriminating against him—quite illogical in the circumstances. From then on both he and another African tenant consistently refused to pay their rent until it was considerably overdue. Occasionally one of them would go away and I would find a strange African in his room—and again, when I mentioned this I was accused of colour prejudice."

The whites who bilk landladies are too numerous to count and bring no condemnation of whites in general.

But when it is done by some coloured people it becomes exaggerated into a condemnation of the coloured in general. At the same time the past experience of coloured people is apt to make some of them walk about with a chip on their shoulders.

Another side of the question concerns accommodation. The fact that many landlords are reluctant to let accommodation to coloured people is not, in itself, an example of colour discrimination. Landlords are in business to make money and therefore wish to let their houses and flats as profitably as possible, no matter who desires the accommodation. Consequently they steer clear of impecunious, quarrelsome, drunken tenants; tenants who are disturbing others by frequent parties, or tenants who bring others in to overload the premises. They avoid these people because they are liable to drive others away and lower the letting value of the premises. Many of them are convinced that this would happen if they let to coloured people. The latter are lively, sociable and

inclined to be noisy because they come from a part of the world where liveliness is common. Also, owing to the housing shortage, as they must find somewhere to live, they are inclined to crowd together in the only places available and put up with the discomfort.

Finally, we, of course, deplore attacks of workers on each other, regardless of the colour of their skins.

The root of the present problem is therefore not colour, but social conditions that are produced by capitalist society. Various solutions to the problem have been put forward, but these solutions ignore the root from which the problem grows. Present racial antagonism is bound up with the general conditions of capitalism. Like the other evils of capitalism it will only disappear when capitalism itself has been replaced by a social system in which all human beings will be able to move freely over the earth and live in harmony because their interests will be identical. This can only be a reality under Socialism.

GILMAC.

VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM

(What it Involves)

(Concluded from July issue)

AS the result of pressure of other work, a couple of months have gone by since the first part of this article appeared in the July issue. The lapse of time, however, has not done any harm.

On the contrary, as we have been dealing with a Labour Party splinter group (*The Victory for Socialism Group*), it has given them time to peter out again, nothing having been heard of them on any scale for many weeks. Not that they are not likely to pop up again, but, as we have said, these movements come and go with the ups-and-downs of Capitalism and have no significance at all in terms of sustained work for Socialism.

We have already explained that the limited (day to day) objectives of the Labour Party and its splinters commit them to continue Capitalism. Capitalism, it must be realised, is a social system, not merely a form of government. State control and private ownership are simply different forms of the same thing and do not in any way touch the basic nature of Capitalism. What is the basic nature of Capitalism? How is Capitalism marked off from any other system?

First and foremost, the means of living, that is to say, factories, machinery, land and transport, etc., take the form of Capital.

This means that by State Bonds, company shares, or outright personal ownership, part of the wealth created by past exploitation is invested for the purpose of further wealth production on a continuous basis of exploitation. IT IS THE UNPAID, SURPLUS PRODUCED BY THE WORKERS WHICH SERVES AS THE BASIS FOR THEIR OWN FURTHER EXPLOITATION and also provides for the rent, interest and profits for the owners of Capital.

Following from this form of ownership and indispensable to it, there must be a class which owns nothing but its ability to work, a class whose only access to life's essentials is through wages.

Wages hide from open view the filching-away process because in working for wages it appears that we get

paid for what we produce, yet a moment's thought will teach us that this cannot be true.

Our wages provide our keep in terms of so much food, clothing and shelter, etc., and enable us to raise future wage workers.

The total value of wages, however, is not all we produce. The employers do not employ us just to keep ourselves, but also to keep them, too, and in much more luxuriant conditions than ourselves. When it is said that "they put up the money so they are entitled to a return," just remember that the many thousands of millions of pounds, dollars and roubles, etc., tied up as capital all over the world today were NEVER produced by those who own them, but by workers in the manner described above. No matter how small a Capitalist may be when he starts, when he is big enough to live on a property income (State or private), it is not produced by him, but by propertyless wage labour.

It only remains to say that the selling of goods and services for profit is the universal means by which the Capitalist disposes of the surplus in order to realise it in cash. The terms we all use in a more or less familiar way, such as trade, prices, wages, world markets, finance, and everything arising from them, are hall-marks of Capitalism.

Now that we have had a more detailed look at the kind of monster we are dealing with, it will be easier to see why the S.P.G.B. insists that Capitalism cannot be made to work in peace and harmony. Its internal strife and conflicts are part and parcel of it. It cannot be otherwise than anti-working-class, for it rests upon their exploitation. In the light of these facts the squirmings of the so-called "left" reformists to make this system run more smoothly, present to us Socialists a picture of pathetic tragedy and it should be easy to see what the Socialist attitude to Industrial action, Slogans, Demonstrations, Leadership and lobbying M.P.'s must be. All of these things are merely aspects of the way workers react to the conditions of Capitalism, painfully aware that

something is wrong, but seeing only *effects* and not *causes*; they shoot in the dark, hoping, more by luck than judgment, to hit something.

The S.P.G.B. attitude to Industrial action has been stated many times in these columns. It is that set out by Marx in *Value, Price and Profit*, namely, a frank recognition of the need for workers to organise into trade unions, in order to resist the downward pressure of employers upon wages and conditions and whenever possible (for instance, during a boom) to push up wages and improve conditions of work. This attitude is based on the fact of the class-struggle and the knowledge of the necessary antagonism which exists between owners and non-owners, the buyers and sellers of Labour power. It is in the workers' interest to gain as much as they can—the boss

can always be relied upon to look after his end.

This does not mean at all that workers can achieve common-ownership of the means of living by industrial action. It is the powers of the State that legalise and enforce the property rights and privileges of the Capitalist class, and it is these powers that must be captured and abolished by the working class in order to introduce Socialism—classless-Society.

To demonstrate, shout slogans and lobby M.P.'s, after having voted for one or the other parties to run Capitalism, does not bother the Capitalist class, who can rely on millions of workers to continue upholding the system that robs them. Only an understanding of Socialism can really help the working class. This is what the S.P.G.B. (and its companion parties) alone works for.

H. B.

FRANK DAWE

Comrade Frank Dawe died in hospital after a short illness in which time I was only able to visit him once. He was 59 years of age.

Frank joined the Party in February, 1936, although he had "seen the light" four or five years previously. During that time he was with the Party not only in the spirit, but in the flesh. He came to the local branch, attended outdoor meetings, and sold literature. When he at length signed on the dotted line it was but the formality of the *fait accompli*. During that time he was often economically in the red, yet he was sensitive, over-sensitive perhaps, in the payment of dues. He would have hated to ask them to be waived and so his actual membership hung fire for that reason.

Frank Dawe was a stormy petrel, blazing a path wherever he went. In adolescence he was fiercely anti-war and although liable for call up at the end of the first world war he succeeded in not being roped in.

As a young man he took an active part in an engineers' strike at his father's works. It was to cost him not only his job, but the business. Later, he cracked that he at least escaped the fate of becoming a Capitalist.

Frank Dawe had grim experiences of the two slumps after the first world war. In the 1921 slump he became caught up in the activities of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement. They were days of mass meetings outside the local labour Exchange and often their dispersal by the Cossacks (mounted police) Of the besieging of the local relief station by hordes of unemployed; of forced entries into it in futile attempts to demand from the then Board of Guardians a little extra on outdoor relief. The arrival of the "flatties" and the ejection of the demonstrators; of derelict buildings taken over to serve as the headquarters of local unemployed organisations and centres of social activity, each ironically proclaiming itself as Poverty Hall; of unemployed marches in efforts to reach Parliament via Westminster Bridge and baton charges and broken heads. All of this Frank could recount mordantly. For the Communists who exploited unemployed organisations for political ends he used his most trenchant invective. For the unfortunate, but misguided, rank and file he never lost his sympathy.

We first met at the local Labour Exchange in 1928. Many future S.P.G.B.'s first met there. For many of us it became a social, political and cultural centre. A university where admittance could be gained by possession of

a yellow signing-on card, and where Marxism might be learned the hard way.

We began as opponents and ended as friends. Into my youthful hot-air idealism he at least breathed an icy realism. After that we went places together. I joined the N.U.W.M. and became its London organiser. We also joined the Communist Party together and left together. We passed through its amorphous body and appendages like a dose of salts. Just over 18 months saw us out at the right end. For Frank the Communist Party, Russia and all that was never "the God that Failed." Rather it soon became a graven image to be mocked at. He learned to mercilessly satirise the C.P.'s pseudo-revolutionism, their histrionics and crude political melodrama.

Then we tangled with the S.P.G.B., but got so badly mauled in the clinches that we at length decided that it might be better to fight for the Party than against it. I joined the Southwark branch and Frank gave it his moral support. To that branch we brought many converts, all unemployed. From the S.P.G.B. being a political expression in S.E. London we made it a political force to be reckoned with. Only a book could do justice to its political epics and varied personalities among them was Frank Dawe. Shortly after we brought about the formation of the Lewisham branch, in which Frank took an active part. It was that branch he subsequently joined.

He also largely initiated the reforming of the Camberwell branch of which he was a consistently active member, playing as he said, the role of the elder statesman.

Frank Dawe cut his Socialist teeth in a whirling vortex of activity; on the streets at the Labour Exchange, public libraries and elsewhere; a formidable and rumbustious protagonist for Socialism. It was the hectic crisis days when, vide the C.P., Capitalism was collapsing and they thought if they did not hurry they would not be in time to take over. It was into this seething frothy excitement, always turbulent, sometimes violent, that Frank Dawe flung himself, a number nine pamphlet in one pocket and a copy of Engel's "*The Revolutionary Act*" in another.

It was a time when the reading room of the local library was taken over by us and the C.P.s as a political forum without, of course the conventional procedure. And where librarians vainly exhorted us to keep politics out

of literature.

It was also a time when the Labour Exchange was jam-packed with signers-on. Somewhere in the seething maelstrom was invariably Frank, close pressed by a small crowd inside a big one. Above the din and tumult could be heard snatches such as—the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle, the Gotha Programme—and counter-revolutionaries. This often resulted in the complete disorganisation of Labour Exchange procedure and incensed officials sending for the police to eject us, that is, if in that confused mass we could be found.

Frank had a wide and sure grasp of the essentials of Marxism coupled with a considerable cultural background. He had a deep appreciation of both classic and modern French literature which he read in the original. He was a mine of information on classical music to which he introduced me. He often suppressed his many sided cultural attainments, believing that it might imply on his part, pretensions and snob values and thus provoke unfavourable reactions among those he came in contact with.

Frank spoke and at times wrote for the party. He

was a good outdoor speaker with a facility for illustrating various aspects of the party's case. He could be a veritable cartoonist in words, imaginatively delineating a situation with a few bold strokes.

The comic muse must have presided at his birth. He had a sublime sense of the ridiculous and a rich seam of riotous humour. He not only told a good story—what Frank told an American professor and an English bishop would not pass the censor—but the best ones he told against himself.

Yet under his bluff and at times boisterous exterior lay a shy and sensitive person often apologetic and deprecatory of his work for the Party. He was something of a perfectionist, underestimating what he had to give to the Party. It was a pity for he had much to give.

His attachment to the Party was deep and abiding, his class loyalties, passionate and sincere. He will certainly be remembered. For me, his death will not only be a Party loss, but a personal loss as well.

To his wife and family we express our sympathy in their misfortune.

E. W.

WILL FORMOSA TOUCH-OFF WORLD WAR III?

AS this article is being written shells are raining down on Quemoy and every day some of the 125,000 military and civilians on the island are being killed or maimed. As the news is heard over radio and television in the comfort of our homes, or read in the papers, some are asking, or at least thinking, "Is this the start to World War III?"

Mr. Dulles said:

"Military dispositions have been made by the United States so that a Presidential determination, if made, would be followed by action both timely and effective."

"The President and I earnestly hope that the Chinese Communist régime will not again, as in the case of Korea, defy the basic principle on which world order depends, namely, that armed force should not be used to achieve territorial ambitions. Any such naked use of force would pose an issue far transcending the offshore islands and even the security of Taiwan."

"It would forecast a widespread use of force in the Far East which would endanger vital free world positions and the security of the United States. Acquiescence therein would threaten peace everywhere. We believe that the civilised world community will never condone overt military conquest as a legitimate instrument of policy."

How it started

Immediately after the defeat of Japan, the U.S.A. backed Chiang Kai-Shek in the civil war against the Communists. American post-war financial backing from 1945 until 1949 amounted to U.S. 3,875 million dollars. (*China Stands Up*, by R. K. Karanji.) This turned out to be a bad investment for the American Capitalist class because the Nationalist military machine lost the war, and took refuge in the island of Formosa, where they have since remained as a quisling government, lavishly supported by the U.S. Quemoy is one of the islands between Formosa and the Chinese mainland.

The British Government considers that support to Chiang Kai-Shek is throwing good money after bad, and with their long and intimate experience in China were amused at the American policy of pouring money into Chiang Kai-Shek's coffers. Much of this money is lost in graft, and most of the arms have found their way into the hands of the opposing Communist side.

It would be a feather-in-the-cap for the Chinese Government to capture Quemoy and help to develop a spirit of chauvinism in the Chinese people, who so far seem somewhat lacking in patriotic fervour. And, in any case, Quemoy is a step towards Formosa itself.

American Strategy

Formosa, together with the outlying islands, including Quemoy are an island crossroads, halfway between Shanghai and Hongkong, and halfway between Tokyo and Saigon, so that control of the island by the Chinese Nationalists means that they (on behalf of the U.S.A.) control these routes. Another aspect of the island's strategic position is that along with Japan and the Philippines it acts as a bastion of American defence, or as a spring-board in case of invasion to the Asian mainland.

Another use of Formosa to the U.S.A. is that so long as control is invested in the Chiang Kai-Shek clique there is always the inherent danger of invasion of the mainland, and this risk keeps large bodies of Chinese troops tied down. American assistance is vital for the defence of Formosa, even apart from the fact that every year the personnel of Chiang's forces get a year older. There is little in the way of replacement as the families of these men have mostly been left on the mainland. Although some native Formosans have been drafted into the army, these are unreliable troops. There have been a series of rebellions throughout the islands from time to time, including trouble amongst the Formosan cadets. The Chinese administration is loathed as alien and corrupt. But the "democratic" American Government regard Chiang's control of Formosa as vital to their interests at present.

Formosan capitalist class

But Formosa, with a population of over nine millions, has its own rapidly developing capitalist class which, supported by the workers, would no doubt oust the Chinese administration and resume trade with the huge Chinese market on the mainland. It is simple for the

capitalists in Formosa to attribute the workers' problems to the foreigners in control. This, of course, is a time-honoured dodge, but it always seems to work, because the workers there, as elsewhere, are not Socialists and do not understand their class interests.

The development of Formosa reads like an American success story. The index of industrial production, for instance, has risen from 49.4 in 1949 to 142.2 in 1957, and it is very much the same story for other aspects of the economy.

Wealth is produced whenever a good investment appears, as was shown last year in the successful sale of stocks and bonds amounting to 40 million Formosan dollars of the Ta Tung Engineering Corporation and the Formosan Cement Corporation. How fortunate these Capitalists are to have such industrious workers slaving away for them!

Also, the progress of the Chinese Petroleum Corporation in the island must be a great comfort to the shareholders; present plans in course of fulfilment are providing an output over four times the 1947 figure. But this is not sufficient for them. Like Capitalism elsewhere they need an efficient and economical administration with as little graft as possible, although there is always a certain amount of corruption in present-day society where money opens so many doors.

But Chiang Kai-shek does not provide what is required and the more Capitalism develops in Formosa the more is the need felt for a better administration. The pot is reaching boiling point, with the Nationalists sitting on the lid.

Probably neither the governments of U.S., China, Russia, or even Chiang Kai-shek or Formosa particularly want war. But there is always the chance that the sparks now flying may ignite these fire-eaters and the situation may grow out-of-hand and embroil the world.

The Hope for Peace

Should war result, no benefit will accrue to the

workers, who will be induced to fight the war. Whatever side they support they will be the losers, even though some of their masters may win markets, trade routes and sources of materials to enable them to increase the profits their workers turn out for them. **THE ONLY ANTIDOTE TO WAR LIES IN THE SPREAD OF SOCIALIST KNOWLEDGE.** When the workers realise the Capitalist cause of wars they can no longer be misled by their ruling-class into support of them and this alone will see the end of these scourges of mankind. This is one of the reasons why the spread of Socialist knowledge is so very urgent.

One Damned Thing After Another

But let us face it—even if the fighting over the Formosan islands is settled, the threat of war will remain—and possibly on a grander scale. Chinese Capitalism has designs on Indian territory and is steadily working towards a showdown there. The July issue of *China Pictorial*, an official Chinese organ, showed a big chunk of North-eastern Assam and parts of Bhutan and Ladakh as belonging to China. On September 4th the Indian Premier, Mr. Nehru, said that "the Chinese Communist Government had failed, in spite of repeated reminders, to revise its maps of China so as to exclude territories which are indisputably Indian."

Elsewhere Chinese exports of manufactured goods are ousting the Japanese products, among others and relations between the governments are growing more strained.

Capitalist development generally is making the whole world a danger zone for war. It is difficult to foretell the result of the present fighting because of the complications that lie behind, but certain it is that the Formosan incident will not be the last.

F. OFFORD.

THEATRE

EUGENE IONESCO AND THE DEFEATIST DILEMMA

THE whole history of the world has been governed by . . . nostalgias and anxieties, which political action does no more than reflect and interpret, very imperfectly. No society has been able to abolish human sadness, no political system can deliver us from the pain of living, from our fear of death; it is the human condition that directs the social condition not *vice versa*."

This in essence is the subjective theory of history; it is also the philosophy of the French playwright Eugene Ionesco.

Eugene Ionesco, who is of Rumanian origin, has in the last ten years become one of the leading dramatists of the French *avant-garde*. Like all such writers his plays were first acted in the tiny left-bank theatres in Paris. He has now acquired a world-wide reputation and his plays are being performed in many languages.

The constant theme of his plays (for example: *Armedée*, *Victims of Duty*, etc.) is the *personal* predicament of the individual in the modern world, expressed in a highly original and unusual style of dramatic writing. In an article on "The Playwrights Roll" (*Observer*, June

29th, 1958), from which the opening quotation is taken, he says: "What is called the 'social' plane (of reality) . . . seems to me to be the most external, in other words, the most superficial."

It is a characteristic of our times for many people to deny the efficacy of political action and to turn to the sad futility of attempting to solve the inner, personal problem; simply because heretofore, all political action has left us still with each his own personal predicament in an impersonal and anti-social world.

Ionesco says elsewhere in his article: "I believe that what separates us all from one another is simply society itself. . . This is what raises barriers between men, this is what creates misunderstanding." And again: "To discover the fundamental problem common to all mankind, I must ask myself what my fundamental problem is, what my most ineradicable fear is. I am certain, then, to find the problems and fears of literally everyone."

True, society does separate us one from another, but the question, why? is not asked. True, my problems are those of literally everyone, in other words, they are

common problems, therefore may they not be social in origin? Society and human beings cannot be considered in abstraction, as separate entities, we have no existence apart from one another and the whole which constitutes society. Our individual condition is determined on all counts by our common (social) condition. Neither is there an eternal paradox whereby the nature of our existence should, or must be, the barrier to perfect communication and harmonious living. If this were true, it would mean that at no time and in no place have men lived without the problems Ionesco poses, and this we cannot countenance. Personal problems are only the manifestations on the individual plane of the social malaise; for all problems can be seen on analysis no matter what their nature, to stem from the wider circle of causality—society. To describe social reality as therefore merely "external" and "superficial," is to assume *a priori* that we have an existence which is "extra-social" and in some way superior to the social. Obviously, Ionesco has something in mind as to what this might be and he describes it as "a wider, deeper society, that which is revealed by our common anxieties, our desires, our secret nostalgias." It is not that these things are not real enough, or for that matter of vital importance, but the emphasis is misplaced; that in some way they are more *real*, more potent, than the social existence. (There are no *realities* which can be conceived as being more, or less, real than others; there are only factors of varying powers of determinancy *within reality*.) This is not to question that our emotions, or rather, say our subjective impulses, do not have their influence on the course of human history, or on life in general (that would be silly), men make their own history and emotions are part of our human composition, but to say that (see opening quotation) what Ionesco calls the human condition, the psychological totality, directs the social condition, is an untenable assumption. Who could possibly give a cogent, convincing explanation of human history by way of such an hypothesis? I cavil at the thought of even putting rhetorical questions on the subject; the result would be so ludicrous, that I can only assume Ionesco does not mean precisely what he says. Perhaps I am wrong in my interpretation of what he means by the human condition, perhaps it is our unique human consciousness; our ability to experience the subjective, to be aware of ourselves, to have powers of abstraction, to be able to plan ahead; but these things are in fact historically the result of the very social reality that to Ionesco is mere external superficiality, as well as being a necessary factor for the existence of society anyway and can only exist itself and have meaning, within the social context. It is important to realise also that each human emotion only becomes overt as a response, and thus never without a reason, and that reason can only emanate from the environment, which is to all intents and purposes—society. Therefore, if our subjective impulses give rise to any problems on the psychological plane, they must be ascribed in origin to the social one. Ionesco rightly says of the "saviours of the world": "the founders of religions"; "the moralists" and "the politicians," that "they make a pretty poor job of it." Yet at the same time he wrongly lays the responsibility for the business of directing human affairs, upon the very people whom he denigrates; contentedly leaving the destiny of the human race in the hands of professional bunglers, thus absolving himself from any responsibility,

either as an artist or (one must presume) as a human being for the whole lamentable situation; which being social in origin—the completely insane, inherently unstable organisation of human life—must be tackled on that level, for to put it bluntly: there is no other.

As stated earlier, the question why? as Ionesco rightly contends (though for the wrong reason), that society raises barriers between men was not asked. I do not intend to state at length an answer which should be patently obvious to any one who reads this journal, except to say that in this case, as in many others, if we try to understand human beings in isolation, we find that we have to invent causes to replace those we choose in our ignorance to ignore. In this case the nature of society.

The flagrant contradictions, the class structure, the thoroughly warped relationships and hollow values that characterise the very mode of our human existence, it is well understood can easily lead to Ionesco's position.

The utter boredom, futility and terror of our world which is fast becoming more and more "the air-conditioned nightmare" (to use Henry Miller's phrase) of Huxleyan prophecy; which throws people back on themselves, to seek inwardly for peace and security, to escape from the vast, infinite, impersonal, oppressive world beyond, over which they feel they have no power to control. Our social nature pines and withers, for it has nowhere to flourish, for which the penalty has to be paid in full. The case-books of the psychologists attest to this.

In "The Starting Point" an essay which has been prefaced to the first volume of his plays in English (published by John Calder), Ionesco says: ". . . the world oppresses, the universe is crushing me. A curtain, an impassable wall stands between me and the world, . . . the horizon closes in and the world becomes a stifling dungeon. . . I feel I am invaded by heavy forces, against which I can only fight a losing battle."

It is this highly personal expression of the predicament of the individual, from which he has evolved his theory of Dramatic art. It is from this point of view that he has written his creed as a playwright.

As the "human condition" is to him more important than the "social" condition," it follows that in Ionesco's opinion those who write on the wider social aspect of life, commit a host of artistic fallacies, since: "such writers . . . offer nothing that one does not know already through books and political speeches." On this account he cites Sartre, Osborne, Miller and Brecht.

It is in no way to condone the conclusions of the aforementioned writers (though we may find much to agree with) to defend their dramatic approach, for in their works we are always aware of the world outside the immediate action, so that what the characters say, do and experience, has meaning for us. They are engaged in living; and acting on their environment, not merely thumb-sucking their complexes in a vacuum.

If and when the development of a Socialist theatre is possible, giving voice to Socialist ideas, aspirations and criticism, it can only be through the medium of "social" theatre that this can be accomplished. Apart from this, the pernicious fallacies of Ionesco's theatre concerning the nature of man and society are opposed to the whole Socialist philosophy, and it is on this score that I draw issue with him and make my criticism.

(Continued on page 157)

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OCTOBER



1958

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone: MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

NEXT YEAR'S T.U.C.

A Dull Congress

Nobody got excited at or over this year's Trades Union Congress at Bournemouth. The delegates and visiting reporters seem to have had a rather boring time and the editorial summings up have reflected the same view, that it was a very dull Congress. One reporter, Mr. Hugh Chevins, industrial correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, in an article "T.U.C. Leadership in a Coma," gave it as his assessment that the T.U.C. has reached a state of complete immobility. "They (the leaders) have come to a dead end. They move neither forwards nor backwards; neither to the Right nor to the Left. New ideas seem anathema. New policies are dangerous. Change of direction is practically unthinkable." (*Daily Telegraph*, 6th September, 1958.)

But he did not take the complacent view that if nothing happens at the T.U.C. so much the better: he fears that if the present leaders do not bestir themselves "they will lose to the irresponsible elements of disruption" (meaning presumably the members and supporters of the Communist Party).

Mr. Chevin's main criticism of the T.U.C. General Council is that, in order to preserve the appearance of unity, they refrain from declaring their real beliefs about the policies trade unions ought to be pursuing at the present time, so controversial issues that might lead to lively division of opinion are smothered, or buried under ambiguous resolutions that mean anything or nothing.

The *Manchester Guardian* (6th September, 1958) commented on the depressing absence of new policy, particularly on the wages issue, though on all sides there is now in trade union circles "tacit admission that the tactics of recent years have failed to secure much real improvement for trade union members."

The kind of new policy the *Guardian* would like to see is that touched on by Mr. Birch, a member of the General Council, who urged the trade unions to be

"expansion minded"—interpreted by the *Guardian* to mean co-operation with the employers to raise production. **Deplorable Outlook**

We, as Socialists, do not share the desires and fears of the two critics referred to. But we have wider and deeper criticisms of our own. The outlook and activities of the T.U.C. and the individual unions are from the Socialist standpoint mostly deplorable. And it seems to get worse year by year if only from the point of view that the passing of the years and the gaining of experience might have been expected to bring steady improvement.

The fact is that the T.U.C., having at one time been a movement of revolt and protest against some of the effects of capitalism, has now become the almost inert

PUBLIC MEETING
DENISON HOUSE

296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, S.W.1

Socialism has
no colour bar

Riots and hooliganism in Notting Hill
and Nottingham in recent weeks
make the unequivocal statement of the
Socialist attitude to the problem
of Race imperative

SUNDAY 12 OCTOBER 7.30

prisoner of the system. For most leaders (and most of the members (the aim of the Unions and the T.U.C. is simply to do the best they can wholly within the framework of capitalism. But they even lack the courage and clear-headedness of some of their predecessors who declared openly their acceptance of capitalism. Now none of them dare admit this, everything has to be wrapped up in a woolly pretence of wanting something other than capitalism.

They Still Look to Nationalisation

What is more, the only alternative officially recognised by the T.U.C. and embodied in its objects, is the replacement of private capitalism by State capitalism or Nationalisation; so Congress is committed in its objects to "nationalisation of land, mines, minerals, and railways." It is so inert that nobody seems to have noticed that the mines and railways were nationalised a decade ago. And, indeed, this is very fitting, because instead of nationalisation having solved any problem the miners and railwaymen are vociferous in their complaint that their problems still await solution.

Nationalisation has turned out to be so disappointing (as Socialists foretold it would) that most of the leaders now fight shy of demands for further nationalisation

schemes and it is left to the truly reactionary backwoods-men of the Communist influenced fringe to go on putting down resolutions as if nothing had happened to expose the futility of the whole idea.

What are Unions for?

On the day to day issues of wages and strikes the situation is equally lamentable. Long before the T.U.C. was formed every union took it for granted that they would fight for wage increases, particularly when prices rise, and would reject wage decreases. After all, that is why they were formed. Yet year after year the time of the T.U.C. is taken up debating whether they are or are not in favour of the principle of "wage restraint."

Armaments and Jobs

On wider issues the T.U.C. is bound by its Constitution to endeavour "to improve the economic or social conditions of workers in all parts of the world, and to render them assistance whether or not such workers are employed or have ceased to be employed."

An admirable aim—if it meant anything. Interpreted into actuality we find Congress again acting within the framework of accepting capitalism internationally, as it tacitly accepts it here in Britain. It accepts armaments, and decisively rejected a proposal that British capitalism should alone get rid of the "H" Bomb. Nobody even suggested the possibility that the world's workers would be happier if there were no war machines anywhere, and one delegate actually opposed that motion on the ground

that most of the £1,500 million spent on British armaments goes "on wages to our members." (*News Chronicle*, 4th September, 1958.) He was barracked by many delegates, but was, of course, putting into words what is a common outlook among armament workers.

Next Year's T.U.C.

As Socialists we know what the T.U.C. ought to be doing in the interest of the workers of the world. We look forward to a Congress at which most of the objects of the T.U.C. will be scrapped, disaffiliation from the Labour Party decided, and a significant number of delegates representing Socialist understanding and conviction will place it on record that they oppose capitalism everywhere in the world, including Russian State capitalism, and stand for Socialism. Furthermore, that they recognise the urgent need of Socialist political organisation everywhere, aiming to gain, for the Socialist working class, control of the machinery of government to inaugurate a Socialist system of society. As Socialism involves the abolition of production for sale and profit, and the abolition of the wages system, this will be tantamount to a recognition that the function of the trade unions will be ended and there will no longer be the need for the workers to have a defensive organisation to bargain about wages and pass resolutions about prices. But as the Trade Union movement will by then be overwhelmingly Socialist, they will see that the new state of affairs will be a matter for congratulation.

We wish this could happen next year.

EUGENE IONESCO AND THE DEFEATISM DILEMMA—
continued from page 155

If, as Ionesco says: "... every work of art is outside ideology," we are reduced to a conception of art that takes no account of the artist, who as a creative individual, is himself created in turn by the living, vital forces of society which he transforms into artistic terms.

Ionesco is himself, no more and no less than his particular anathema Bertholt Brecht, a product of some aspect of Capitalism.

"Human kind cannot bear very much reality," wrote T. S. Eliot, but when that reality is inimical to use, we tend, like Ionesco, to hope that by refusing to look at it, it will somehow cease to be; or perhaps—simply go away.

Man's greatest need is man, that is why we are Socialists and go the Socialist way. "Fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death"—but we may choose.

I. D. J.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Air Raids Banned by International Convention!

Discussing the further question of the development of aerial navigation and its possible relation to war, the organ of the "Prince of Peace" (the *Daily News*) pursues its dull and melancholy way:—

"To drop various explosives down upon large objects like cities would not be difficult, but, after all, there are such things as Hague Conventions against the random destruction of private property."

Verily, the faith of the *Daily News* in Hague Conventions is of the brand that ought to move mountains. But faith never yet moved a mountain and there is no reason to suppose it will be more efficacious in the future

PARLIAMENTARY FUND APPEAL

The Party needs money for many things, but one of the most pressing problems facing the Party today is the state of the Parliamentary Fund. At the moment, it amounts to £68 odd. That, as you will appreciate, is but a drop in the ocean. We need money for this Fund and we need it quickly. The present Government is nearing its end and may at any time announce its dissolution.

We are contesting the Bethnal Green constituency; the candidate has been appointed and Hackney branch is proceeding with plans for indoor meetings in the autumn.

We need £500 immediately. The donations of members and sympathisers are our mainstay and we ask you to give generously and quickly so that this effort can be a worthwhile one.

Send your donations to the Treasurer, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

than in the past—not even when the object to be moved is a mountain of stupidity or fraud, such as the Hague Convention undoubtedly is. . . .

But, say the peace-makers, the Hague Convention, we know, cannot stop wars, but it can, by agreement, humanise them. It could, for example, rule out airships, or at any rate, prevent their use in the discharge of explosives from above, and so on. . . . But its ruling would not affect the matter worth tuppence for all that. . . . You can't humanise war. It you could it would not be war. While we have wars, we have inhumanity, and we must have wars until Socialism.

(From an article in the SOCIALIST STANDARD, October, 1908.)

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Autumn Delegate Meeting. A reminder that this is being held on Saturday, October 4th (2.30 p.m.) and Sunday, October 5th (11.30 a.m.), at Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

Nottingham. Some time ago, provisional arrangements were being made for a debate to be held between the Party and the Communist Party. The paid Organiser of the local Communist Party Branch had agreed to the debate, subject to final arrangements, which was to take place at the Cosmo Debating Society Hall, Nottingham. Our Nottingham Comrades were surprised to learn later that the Communist Party had withdrawn from the debate—no clear reason was given. However, Nottingham Branch Members have arranged for us to hold a meeting at the Cosmo Hall and Comrade Wilmott is going there on Sunday, October 5th. He will speak on "Socialism—One World, One People." Full details elsewhere in this issue.

Denison House. The Propaganda Committee endeavoured to arrange a Central London meeting for October 5th after the Delegate Meeting. Unfortunately a hall was not available, but the Committee has booked Denison House for Sunday, October 12th, at 7.30 p.m. "Socialism has no Colour Bar" is the subject of the meeting. Further details are shown in a notice in this issue.



Sunday Film Meetings. A new series commences on Sunday, October 19th, at Head Office. Time, 7.30 p.m. List of titles of later dates appear on page 162.

U.S.A. and Canada. Comrade D'Arcy found a brief few moments whilst travelling by air from Vancouver to Winnipeg, that he is halfway through his tour, which is keeping him very well occupied. There is no doubt that our Comrades in the West have made great preparations to ensure that fullest advantage could be taken from this visit. Comrade D'Arcy hopes to fully report his tour when he returns and no doubt the November STANDARD will contain, at least, a precis of his report. P. H.

THE ECONOMICS OF WORLD POVERTY

CAPITALISM spells plenty for the class who own the means of life—the capitalists—and poverty for the working class who produce that plenty. We are told this in *The Observer* (March 2nd, 1958):—

"One-third of the people of the world go to bed hungry every night.

"One-fourth of the population of the earth earns less than one dollar a week. This is about four dollars less than per capita expenditure in the United States on alcohol.

"The highest per capita income in Asia is in Japan and that is only \$100 a year. The per capita income in the United States is over \$1,500 a year."

"One-half of the population of the earth lives in Asia and yet they receive only 11 per cent. of the total income of the world."

"Never before in the history of the world was there so much wealth . . . poverty, education, . . . so little coming to the knowledge of the truth . . . so much power . . . prepared to be used for the destruction of human life."

And it was Bishop Fulton J. Sheen of New York who made the above statements to an audience of politicians and administrators at a meeting of national leaders in the ballroom of a Washington hotel, in February last.

Although Bishop Sheen was speaking to a representative gathering of capitalists, it is primarily an indictment of their world economy; its shortcomings and failures. Let us follow the course the arguments take:—

"Our moral duty to aid the under-privileged arises from the fact that we have superfluities and the superfluities of the rich are the necessities of the poor."

"(The "under-privileged," the "poor" and the "rich" in this context, refer to the industrially under-developed countries; their poor standards of living, compared to those of the highly industrially developed countries.)

"A second reason for our moral duty to aid others is because the earth and the fullness thereof were made by God for all the peoples of the earth and not for the privileged advantage of few."

This earth, this blessed plot!! made by God! This material universe upon which humans live and crawl, to fly now, many of them, is indeed something to set the imagination soaring, at least to those who have given this universal order more than passing thought.

It is common sense, common knowledge, the outcome of many generations of human experience, how the resources of the earth have been put to human use. It is likewise becoming more widely known that these resources, transformed by the labouring activity of the working class, result in the production and distribution of all those necessities which today make life possible. As to the part which God plays, we are reminded of the chat between a rural rustic and the local vicar:—

"Vicar (stopping to admire a garden): 'Wonderful indeed what God and his brethren can make out of a garden.'

"Rural rustic: 'Ay, yer reverence, but you should have seen this 'ere plot when God 'ad it to 'is self'."

Bishop Sheen then made the following statement:—

"The under-privileged countries need our machinery for their fields, our clothes for their backs, our shoes for their feet and our food for their stomachs."

In the terminology of capitalist economics what the Bishop is no doubt trying to explain is that exchange relationships between the industrially advanced nation states and the industrially backward ones of the world are not functioning as effectively as Bishop Sheen thinks they should. We were rather expecting, and interested to learn, why? But Bishop Sheen fails us. This is a problem which no doubt is confounding, not only the

world's stock exchanges, but likewise the economic professors of the world, too. As Bishop Sheen puts it—"so much education . . . so little coming to the knowledge of the truth." It would certainly seem that the professors have let the capitalists down. Just now America is, industrially, suffering a "stand-still," though their millions of unemployed could be howling busy. As Bishop Sheen goes on to say:—

"It is their stomachs that are empty; it could be our hearts that are empty."

But how far do we get discussing empty hearts? It is common knowledge, for example, that the American economy has earmarked many billions of dollars on experimenting with the "H" bomb, guided missiles, and so on.

We were half expecting at this point that Bishop Sheen would come out with something more forthright than the following:—

"But governments are not completely inspired by an amor benevolentiae, or the love of others for their own sakes."

This revelation dates somewhat. Consider, for example, the hate let loose in the two world wars, diplomatically engineered by politicians, supported by the churches, inspired by capitalists' greed for profit and plunder. But Bishop Sheen is not finished yet. He goes on to point out:—

"Foreign aid has many aspects, military, political, economic and social. One of these aspects worth examining is the giving of aid in order to combat communism by keeping the under-privileged nations within the orbit of the free world."

In this respect, however, caution should be observed. In giving such aid it must be remembered, he says, that the Russians can and are doing this—to further communism and if it extends its "slave holding" methods, it will be in the position to give even more than the "free West." It does not follow, he further suggests, that the powers which give the most to the under-privileged, will be assured of winning their allegiance. Besides, this aid by Russia and the "free West" there is, he points out:—

"What might be called a third world power . . . God and prayer! . . . One out of every seven persons in the world is a Muslim. 375 million of them in a world constitutes a great supra national force!"

Think of all those millions of potential customers, he whispers to his capitalist audience! Now we are really getting to the capitalist heart of the matter: down to the skin and the bone, stomachs withall! Bishop Sheen is now in "full cry" with his sales talk. Cautions may now be discounted; they are superseded by the introduction of this "third power," the Holy Ghost of the church—considered by Bishop Sheen the "inspiration" of the "free world."

Whilst not even attempting to disillusion the Bishop, we should just like to say by way of an aside, that it has been hushed about that the Russian orthodox church played a very significant part in world war two. This took the form of encouraging the Russian armies to resist the German invasion at its crisis. For this the Russian church were promised a more sympathetic consideration for their future status in the Soviet realm. Likewise, no doubt the Russian elite who top this realm will be correspondingly condescending to the Russian church in their attempts to set an example of respect for the formalities of church traditions. We shall expect to hear that it is now the right thing to attend the services whilst winking

the other eye, if it but help to reconcile the Russian masses with their enslaved conditions. After all have not the free West been winking both eyes at their own church with its mumbo jumbo for generations! fobbing the working class off with "pie in the sky" as a consolation for the poverty of their material conditions. This is confirmed by Bishop Sheen when he opines:—

"The Soviets would have the world believe there is only hunger of the belly. One great country which has risen to prosperity because it holds that God has endowed men with certain unalienable rights must recognise that 'not by bread alone doth men live.'"

What kind of "prosperity" the millions of unemployed in Bishop Sheen's America may be anticipating, now and in the immediate future, can be better imagined than described. The road up to this "prosperity" for the working class of America, it's grim industrial struggles with its armed thugs and strike-breaking battalions—outstanding and distinctive features—is one long story of brutal repression, equalled and surpassed only by Russian slave labour and concentration camps of the present era.

To sum up, it would seem that Bishop Sheen has in mind a religious revival as a means of combating communism. If the Russians see things in a similar light than we may expect bibles by the billion, missionaries by the million, air-shipped to the uncharted wastes of Asia, Africa (including Timbuctoo, too). Bibles or boots, missionaries or machines, Gods or goods, the material needs of the industrially undeveloped countries and their toiling and impoverished millions will remain unsatisfied, just in the same way as the working class of the most advanced industrial nations goes unsatisfied today.

Finally, it must be noted that the guy who reported Bishop Sheen's sermon, states that the Bishop embroidered on it as he spoke. What we have missed, we may never know! As far as it went it may have been well intended—for his capitalist friends. That he never once revealed, however, that the private property institutions of capitalism—exploitation of the working class for profit—the resulting poverty and degradation, plus the war-mongering which flowed therefrom, was the primary cause, gave us pause for reflection.

Capitalism is like this; populations thinned by starvation—unemployment—or war (a whole world plunged in twilight) and we felt tired with Bishop Sheen. He said a lot, but left . . . so little coming to the knowledge of the truth . . . and we also went to bed hungering for it, like some of the "one-third." O. C. I.

* This "hearsay" is confirmed by "Pendennis" in *The Observer*, April 13th, 1958, in an article "Five Monks to Moscow." The writer says: "They will be the first monks to have been invited to visit Russian monasteries since the revolution. . . For years the Church virtually went underground until in 1942 Stalin appealed to the priests to encourage the war effort (italics ours) and congregations and services suddenly reappeared. Since the war the church in Russia has been very much more in evidence. . ."

Read our Pamphlet:

"THE RACIAL PROBLEM
—A SOCIALIST ANALYSIS"

1/- (Post free 1/2)

WHIP CRACKAWAY

ONE morning midway between my tea and corn-flakes my attention was arrested by an announcement in a programme on the radio that scientists had carried out an investigation to find out why a whip cracked when it was flicked. Moreover, one of them was about to make a statement on this phenomenon. I listened with breathless interest while a wise, grave voice poured out a mass of scientific detail about supersonic sound barriers being broken and other effects. The whole thing seemed quite fantastic. Surely a group of scientists didn't carry out a detailed study just to find out why a whip cracked.

The idea began to present some fascinating possibilities. Perhaps a vast research station somewhere in the Nevada desert. Rubber gloved and masked technicians cracking whips by remote control. Huge areas cordoned off, concrete shelters erected, complicated machinery recording every effect. Then later, the dramatic headlines, "The United States has cracked its biggest supersonic whip to date."

From there, inevitably the Whip Disarmament Com-

mittee. Demonstrations at Trafalgar Square. Momentous statements by Mr. Bevan and the Archbishop of Canterbury—and what will Donald Soper do now, poor thing? Later, public spirited citizens will call for the pooling of whip-cracking secrets and international control. The Russians offering like a conducted tour of their whip plants in Siberia. The whole world waiting tensely for talks at the summit. *Tass Agency* issues the statement that Russia has cracked a supersonic whip with a small dog attached to the end. An American Lieutenant-Colonel announces that the United States will carry out their experiments with an even bigger dog.

What a panorama unfolds of State visits, high and low-level conferences, broken treaties, falling shares, the Queen "Bless this whip and all who crack it."

I can see the whole stupendous drama culminating in the biggest crack of the biggest whip—but quite incidentally, why on earth does a whip crack?

J. H.

SOCIALISM AND PERFECTION

THE aim of the Socialist is to achieve perfection, and perfection is unattainable—so goes the argument. The assumption is that somehow human beings are to be transformed into supermen and women, all virtue and no vice, once the millenium has been reached. This approach to the problem is the wrong one and very misleading.

The improvement in human behaviour which we envisage is not an abstract conception of how people might behave in a better world, but is based on our observation and knowledge of how people actually do behave. It can be seen that sometimes people react in a truly human way to each other, and sometimes the reverse. An objection here may be: "What do we mean by *truly human*; surely all the actions of human beings must by definition be human?" If we can agree that men are primarily social beings, that everything they do and think is connected in diverse ways with, and affected by, what others do and think (even in matters of sex), that what we recognise as human as opposed to merely animal is the result of thousands of years of social evolution; of living together in mutual dependence, then the act of, for example, saving life is more human than destroying it.

We may ascribe changes in our behaviour to each other to quite arbitrary vagaries of human nature, but once an analysis has been made of the conditions and circumstances in which our actions occur, we will see that a definite causal connection can be traced. A man who is worried about his relations with his employers and fears the sack, is possibly not going to be easy to live with as when he is relatively safe. (Assuming for the sake of argument no other disruptions.) Meeting such a person for the first time we might say: "What an *unpleasant* man Smith is." Or if we heard he had been beating his children: "What a *brute* that man Smith is." We would have implied by our remarks that the trouble was entirely with Smith, and not, as in this case, the result of a conflict between Smith and the owner of the means of his exist-

ence. Though it is interesting to note that if we knew him, we would probably say: "I wonder what has got into old Smith?" Here the implication is the reverse, we have recognised a contributory factor. Once this point has been agreed upon, it is not a far step to realising that if the conditions of society were changed the circumstances (e.g., labour and capital relationship) producing undesirable human behaviour would disappear. If asked what proof we have of this apart from the logic of the argument, it would suffice to say that if mankind is capable of behaviour conducive to social well-being some of the time, it is capable of it all of the time and in all spheres of human activity.

This is no perfectionist myth which implies the singular development of man along the road of constant progress. The perfectionist idea implies also that man is now inferior to what the would-be perfectionists might make him. In some cases it takes a mechanistic form, too; that is, it conceives men as living together by agreement or contract, that society is a man-made utopia rather than a social growth. That Socialism would be a distinct form of society and unconnected with Capitalism, a Minerva springing complete from the heads of the idealists rather than being born of the society existing prior to it and bearing the marks of its origins. All this is a fallacy. What we as Socialists aim to do is to organise society in such a way that there will be no fetters and restrictions on the desire for peaceful and purposeful co-operation, the desire of millions of people caught in the maelstrom of Capitalism, who as yet see no way out. It is on the basis of our knowledge of what man is that we want to change the world, not from some abstract concept of what we imagine would be *nice*; simply extending our own preferences on to society at large.

The important question now arises: at what point does the change in human behaviour take place; before the revolution in the social structure in order to change it (in which case it would then seem unnecessary), or

afterwards, which would be an impossible absurdity, like a baby begetting its parents in order to be born. To quote Marx (*Capital*, Vol. I, page 157.): "By action on the external world and changing it, he (man) changes his own nature." It is in the union in time and place of the desire and the action of its fulfilment that man will become truly human in the complete sense. It follows from this that mankind as a whole must make the effort. There are no means by which the Socialist Party of Great Britain alone can do this, nor are there any verifiable laws of nature, society or history to help, or for that

matter to hinder the attainment of Socialism. The only laws are the exigencies of the immediate social condition, the state in which we find ourselves and the power of social consciousness.

Man makes his own history, albeit according to the conditions of the time. Conditions which have today raised problems not only of the fundamental relationships of simply living together, but of even the very survival of the human race. Problems which have got to be solved.

I. D. J.

THE CAUSE OF IT ALL

THE tiny triangular bedsitter at the top of the house was occupied by Mr. Winston Tobias. He was 45 years old, a mild, sad, yearning little man, as black as boot polish. No one knew very much about him, he was seen coming and going, but never there. At exactly the same time every morning he walked down the stairs to go to the office where he worked, and at exactly the same time every evening he returned with the evening paper and a small parcel of groceries for his tea. Neither the Carters nor the Fentons, who lived in the other two flats below, could ever remember him having a visitor, and he seldom went out. Most evenings he spent in his uncomfortable little room with its small window, divan bed, single arm chair, and gas stove neatly hidden from view by a plastic curtain. Here he read a little, dreamt a little, and wrote long letters to his family, full of loving, lying promises of their future together in England. Mr. Tobias possessed that virtue, so often extolled by the neighbours of "keeping himself to himself" and, of course, was a constant source of frustration to the avid curiosity of Mrs. Carter, immediately below him, and Mrs. Fenton, on the ground floor.

Mr. Tobias was a little afraid of his neighbours and avoided them, if possible. Mr. Carter he identified by the sound of heavy boots clumping up the stairs, occasional choruses of: "A white Christmas," and shouted admonitions both to his wife and seven year old son. The Carters did not keep themselves to themselves, their trials and tribulations were the common property of the neighbourhood. Their son Jonathan was the fruit of one of their infrequent harmonies. He was affectionately known as Jonty, when he was affectionately known at all. Mr. Tobias felt sorry for the little boy, and would have liked to befriend him, but he was far too timid to attempt to climb the barriers of prejudice erected by the child's parents.

Mr. and Mrs. Carter found it hard enough to be amiable to one another, but their friendship with the Fentons was a precarious thing indeed. The two families had antagonized each other from the beginning. They quarrelled mostly over the children (the Fentons had a daughter born one month before July, and nine months after her father's works outing). The two children found themselves periodically separated while their parents furiously re-enacted a quarrel they themselves had completely forgotten. The regular screams of abuse between the two wives were so commonplace that they were accepted by the neighbours as part of the urban scene.

On the very rare occasions when they were friendly, then Mr. Tobias was really frightened, for he knew that the basis of their agreement was condemnation of him. He was well aware that they spoke about him, if not to him. Fearful of meeting their anger face to face he stayed in his room and felt cold, tight apprehension at every footstep mounting the stairs. He breathed a sigh of relief when the atmosphere in the house settled back into its simmering dislike. At least it was not of him.

Then one night came the final explosion. Mr. Tobias had gone to bed early and was almost asleep, when he heard a woman's voice raised in hysterical anger. He sat up in bed and listened. From below came unmistakable sounds of battle. Heavy boots could be heard scuffling on the stairs, grunts and groans interspersed with shouted insults as the two men fought. Mrs. Fenton was screaming encouragement to her husband and Mrs. Carter whose spouse was apparently getting the worst of it could be heard shrieking for the police. A shower of milk bottles cascaded down the stairs, the dustbin on the landing was kicked over and the two protagonists began hurling the contents at each other. The din was appalling. Mr. Tobias felt vaguely that he ought to do something, but was too frightened to do so. Then came a knock at the door, he opened it fearfully and saw outside little Jonathan Carter in his pyjamas. "Mr. Fenton's fighting my dad, and he's made his nose bleed and I'm scared," whispered the little boy. Mr. Tobias took the child on his knee to comfort him, and Jonty clung to him in tearful longing.

New voices entered into the play beneath them. The second act had begun with the arrival of the police. Their calm, matter-of-fact voices could be heard vainly attempting to sort out the confusion. Finally, they had to admit defeat and departed, taking with them the two men still arguing, and leaving their wives to remove the debris. Now that things were once again peaceful, little Jonathan left the security of Mr. Tobias's embrace and went downstairs. As he emerged from the dark vacuum of the stairway, his mother, busily sweeping empty tins and broken glass into the corner, looked up and saw him. "Where have you been," she shouted. "I got scared," replied the boy, "So I went upstairs to Mr. Tobias and he gave me a drink and some biscuits." His mother gave an offended gasp. "Why, you little devil," she screamed, cuffing him on the ear, "I'll murder you if you go up there again. Didn't I tell you not to have anything to do with them blacks, you know they're always causing trouble."

J.H.

PRODUCTION FOR USE?

WHEN I was a child my father used to sing me songs. One of them I remember was extremely melodramatic and accompanied by the appropriate gestures began: "Don't go down the mine, daddy, it's safer to stay at home." I loved this one and requested it again and again.

I was therefore agreeably surprised to read in the *News of the World* on the 24th August an account of a man who had taken these words to heart, with the slight variation of "Don't go down the mine daddy, it's safer to dig your own."

Mr. Squires had been a miner until he contracted lung trouble in 1948. Now it so happened that his back garden led into an open cast coal mine, and being out of work and in need of a little warmth, Mr. Squires, with considerable ingenuity, soon managed to have the coal mine leading into his back garden, which, as you must agree, made all the difference between having and not having coal.

Now Mr. Squires seems to be a man who takes words to heart, and therein lies his mistake. It is well known to every member of the working class that the mines belong to us, and that the National Coal Board are merely our agents. Do we not hear this every day, and from the most reliable sources? Press, pulpit and parliament have all assured us that the coal mines are our property. The Labour government even told us it was Socialism. Mr. Squires took them at their word and established his own little bit of Socialism. He put into his home-made mine according to his abilities, and drew from it according to his needs. He mined about ten tons a year, all used by his family, truly production for use. He was also a most honourable man, during his ten years of free access he never once applied for the concessionary coal allowed to miners.

But poor Mr. Squires overlooked one important thing. It is not advisable to believe everything you hear, and to be told by politicians that you own the mines does not necessarily mean you do. Nationalisation alters nothing as far as the workers are concerned, and the National Coal Board is just as much concerned with property and profits as the private owner.

So we leave Mr. Squires awaiting his trial to face charges of stealing.

J. H.

NOTTINGHAM COSMO DEBATING SOCIETY HALL

on
SUNDAY, 5th OCTOBER
at 2.30 p.m.

"Socialism, one World, one People"

Speaker: E. WILLMOTT

YOU HELP BY

- Asking Newsagents and Libraries to display S/S.
- Selling "Socialist Standard" wherever possible.
- Inviting enquirers to discussions.
- Canvassing in New Areas.

HACKNEY BRANCH LECTURES

Room 3, BETHNAL GREEN TOWN HALL,
CAMBRIDGE HEATH ROAD, LONDON, E.2.

WEDNESDAYS, at 7.30 p.m. Admission Free.

- October 1st "South Africa"—P. LAWRENCE.
" 15th "Wage Restraint and Arbitration"—
E. HARDY.
" 29th "Trade Unions"—J. EDMUNDS.
Questions and Discussion.

BETHNAL GREEN CONSTITUENCY MEETINGS

WEDNESDAY, 8th OCTOBER, 1958, 7.30 p.m.
"YOUR COLOUR PROBLEM"

Speakers: W. READ
(Prospective Parliamentary Candidate).
R. CRITCHFIELD.

CO-OP. HALL, 197, MARE STREET, E.9.
(Buses: 6, 106, 555, 557, 653, 677)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17th, 1958, 7.30 p.m.
"RENTS, HOUSES AND JOBS"

Speakers: W. READ
(Prospective Parliamentary Candidate)
R. AMBRIDGE.

BETHNAL GREEN LIBRARY,
CAMBRIDGE HEATH ROAD, E.2
(Bethnal Green, Central Line. Buses: 8, 106, 653)

PUBLIC MEETING

at

LAMBETH TOWN HALL

(Corner of Brixton Road and Acre Lane, S.W.)

on Friday 17th October at 7.30 p.m.

"EVICTIONS AND THE WORKING CLASS"

Speakers: R. Coster and H. Baldwin

Admission Free. Questions and Discussion.

DOCUMENTARY FILMS at HEAD OFFICE

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comments at H.Q.

52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4.

(near Clapham North Tube Station)

Sunday evenings at 7.30 p.m.

The meeting is then open for questions and discussion which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale. Visitors particularly welcome.

- October 19th "The Story of Money"—E. HARDY.
" 26th "Father of UNO"—MICHAEL
Nov. 2nd "The Shadow of Hiroshima"—
J. BRADLEY.
" 9th "The Boy Kumasena"—GILMAC.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne. Sydney: 29, Doris Street, North Sydney. Box 2291, G.P.O. Sydney.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park 3.30—7 p.m.

East Street
(Walworth) October 5th 12.30 p.m.
" 12th 12.30 p.m.
" 19th 11 a.m.
" 26th 11 a.m.

WEDNESDAYS

Gloucester Road 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS

Earls Court 8 p.m.

FRIDAYS

Earls Court 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Tower Hill Thursdays at 1 p.m.

MITCHAM DISCUSSION GROUP

at

"THE THREE KINGS" (Club Room)

near Mitcham Fair Green

Thursday, October 9th at 8 p.m.

"Education" - - - - - R. Coster

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

A series of lectures on Thursday evenings at 8 p.m.

at

668 Fulham Road, S.W.6

(Wilcox, Nr. Munster Rd.)

October 9th "Crises"—E. HARDY.

October 23rd "Surplus Value"—E. WILLMOTT

November 13th "The New Intelligentsia."—LISA BRYAN

November 27th "Historical Materialism."—FRANK EVANS

December 11th "Science and Society."—FRED WARLOW.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTHENHAM.—Secretary, Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breaky, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIbbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Meets every 4th Thursday (Oct. 9th) at "Three Kings," (Club Room), near Mitcham Fair Green. Secretary: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT.—Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDBILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellon Rd., Pencuogil, Nr. Llanelly

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BASILDON (Previously Wickford). Branch meets on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m., at the Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence to Secretary, R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 29 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month at 7.30 p.m. (Oct. 2nd and 16th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELS meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Oakell Road, Eccles, Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 668 Fulham Rd. S.W.6. (Wilcox, nr. Munster Rd.) All correspondence to Secretary, L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrook, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (Oct. 8th and 22nd) at 8 p.m. The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (Oct. 6th and 20th) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivimey, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. (Oct. 8th and 22nd), 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, W. Mostyn, S.P.G.B., c/o Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7411.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st and 3rd Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbass, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 'Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey 9, Mine Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

THE AUTUMN DELEGATE MEETING

will be held at

Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.
on Saturday and Sunday, October 4th and 5th

Commencing:

Saturday at 2.30 p.m. Sunday at 11.30 p.m.

GLASGOW (CITY) AND KELVINGROVE BRANCHES

Sunday, October 26th, at 7 p.m.

Subject - "The Next General Election"

Speakers - J. Richmond and T. A. Mulheron

in

ST. ANDREWS HALLS, Berkeley St. (Door G)

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

No. 651 Vol. 54 November, 1958

Advertising by Stealth

THE SLIGHT SUBLIMINAL

THERE IS PROVERBIAL NO SENTIMENT IN BUSINESS, and obviously no conscience in advertising. There is, however, a curious ethic of "fair play" which picks on one way of victimizing people among a thousand and demands that it be stopped. Thus at the present time "subliminal" advertising seems likely to be banned as too mean a method of what in any case is achieved in plenty of other ways.

The "subliminal" technique is a visual one, devised for the cinema and TV. In Chamber's Dictionary it means "beneath the threshold of consciousness"; it consists of flashing a word or a symbol so swiftly that the brain registers without awareness that the eye has seen. Its first test in a cinema in America involved the words "ice cream," and according to the *Sunday Pictorial*, which sounded a furious alarm ("Home Office Must Act") on its front page on October 5th: "Ice cream sales in the interval took a tremendous upward leap, and the customers did not know why."

It was announced in the House of Commons earlier this year that advertisers are forbidden to use subliminal suggestion on television in this country. There is, however, the promise of an American horror film in which nasty symbols and words like "blood" and "death" are flashed. Calling this "rape of the mind," the *Pictorial* reported that "screams of horror are almost doubled when the symbols are used" because "without realizing it, the sub-conscious mind of the audience is flooded with thoughts of death."

That this is low and objectionable could not be contested: what, one wonders, will future social historians make of the twentieth century? The suggestions made about it, however, extend far beyond those simple considerations. Through the subliminal technique, it is said, ideas and fears may be planted in the mind by stealth—it means, in fact, the beginning of thought-control. "Advisers to the *Pictorial*" made the demand for a ban indisputable by saying: "This is the sort of terror that George Orwell visualized in his book '1984.' This is 'Big Brother'."

Orwell's earnest, mistaken book: what a lot it has to answer for! And, curiously enough, it never succeeded in showing any such terror. For all Orwell's efforts, its horror lies chiefly in physical brutality: its Thought Police are simply plug-uglies, its hero hectored into seeing two and two as five ultimately not by suggestion but in fact by pain, privation and fear. One wonders, again, what the future could show the past in obtaining conformity, acquiescence, and self-deception. The Roman Catholic Church held millions in subjection for centuries without a single subliminal symbol; the Kaiser's picture in the papers roused fury

THE TORY PENSION PLAN

SOCIALISM, ONE WORLD, ONE PEOPLE

ALADDIN SAFES FOR EVERYONE

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

A PROPAGANDA TOUR IN AMERICA

Registered for transmission
to Canada

Monthly

6^D

equal to anything in Orwell's "hate week."

Subliminal suggestion is undesirable, but there is no evidence to date—discounting the somewhat naive "tests" described in the *Pictorial*—that it is anything more than a new way of advertising. True, it carries the stigma of unfairness, of invading the person's mind while his back, so to speak, is turned. Is that any more unfair or any more undesirable, however, than browbeating him into submission, which is what much modern advertising does? It is hard to see the difference between slipping a name into the subconscious and imprinting it by nagging repetition: few of us today will not carry the news of the New Blue Whitener to our graves.

Advertising has for many years employed techniques of suggestion; if the subliminal is rape of the mind, then these may be said to have tried taking liberties with it. The implications, for example, of all the symbols of masculinity and female desirability: Twice the Man on Whatsaname. What Makes a Woman Magnetic, Handsome Men are Slightly Sunbronzed. Where all suggestion techniques founder is on their own basis of competition. Presumably it is not difficult to rouse anyone's wishes for strength, security, health or charm: what no advertiser has discovered, however, is how to make conflicting and contradictory claims effective on the subconscious.

It is all very well to find that more people bought ice cream after a subliminal flash, but the same effect could have been produced by any of half a dozen others means (overheating the cinema, for example). The real test is not whether they can be persuaded to buy more ice cream, but whether it will mean anything at all when they are told to buy four brands simultaneously, each one in preference to the others.

Every person in our society must always be on his

guard against attempts to regulate his thoughts: government, press, church, school and advertisement are at it all the time. The facile common picture—Orwell's one—of twentieth-century man as having less and less autonomy of thought is, however, completely untrue. It is the opposite which is true. For all the black patches, all the prejudice and cruelty and acceptance of things which ought not to be, man today is far more knowledgeable than ever before. That is not man in the abstract, typified by a few; it means man everywhere, walking the streets and going to work and reading the paper and watching the television. Knowing more, he is more critical and altogether more sensible than he has ever been.

The only really effective means of subjecting people's minds is ignorance. The Catholic Church has already been mentioned; there are innumerable other examples—kingship, war propaganda, every persecution in history, including that of the Jews. While on the one hand new techniques of mass communication are developed and put into the hands of the few against the many, every day man grows in knowledge and so in ability to think for himself. It is worth reverting to advertising for a moment to point out that after forty years of mass commercial advertising a great many people remain more or less immune to it, and the growth of ventures for "consumer research" suggests that knowledge is far more effective than symbols.

"1984" has not come yet; nor will it. This is not the trouble with the modern world. Much of its technical development points the way to the kind of world that could be; as things are, it is the organization of society now and nothing else which stands in the way of man's full development. For that, only a little more knowledge is needed. The enemy is ignorance.

ROBERT COSTER.

SOCIALISM, ONE WORLD, ONE PEOPLE

Address to the Cosmos Debating Society, Nottingham, by Comrade Willmott

WE have often been reproached for having a black and white case for Socialism and in the light of the recent race riots, both in London and Nottingham, we can say that from a particular standpoint—we have, and if you will permit a mild pleasantry I shall from the viewpoint of the S.P.G.B. attempt to shed some light on a rather dark subject.

To begin, it is an error to think that race prejudice is itself a black and white question. It is not. The worst race riots in the British Commonwealth took place in South Africa between Indians and Negroes. That was rioting between brown and black. The worst race riots perhaps in the U.S.A. were not in the Southern States but in the north—Detroit. While the most tragic example of race prejudice in Europe, the persecution and slaughter of the Jews was man's inhumanity to man in the form of whites' inhumanity to whites. And who knows, the next showdown may at least in part be presented as a struggle between white and yellow, and so we arrive at the paradox that race prejudice knows no colour bar.

Now one of the myths of our times is that race feelings are somehow associated with differences in blood stock. Now scientists agree that there are different types of blood, which are enumerated as A, B and O, but whatever group the blood in the human body belongs to, is

independent of race, clime, or country. A white man may belong to the same blood group as a coloured man and the white man's own brother belong to a different blood group.

So if at any time you have to undergo a blood transfusion and perhaps unbeknown to you your blood donor is a coloured person, you will be none the wiser, and if you had colour prejudices before the transfusion you will have them after transfusion, and the coloured man's blood inside you won't make any bloody difference.

Even the term race has no real meaning. It is true there appear in certain human groups inherited features like woolly or straight hair, colour of skin, shape of head, and so on, but such things are found in other groups, like red hair and blue eyes, they are physical characteristics and have nothing to do with a person's mentality. And seeing all these ethnological groups, black, brown, white, yellow, have all intermingled and got mixed up for thousands of years to look for something called race in any real sense, is like looking for a black cat in a dark room that isn't there.

What ethnologists stress is that between the various ethnological groups there is so far as mental capacity is concerned, complete equality.

Class and Race

There are, of course, whites and coloured in the social top drawer, just as there are whites and coloured in the bottom drawer, and the whites and coloured in the top drawer have much more in common than they have with white and coloured folk in the bottom one. Those in the top drawer never indulge in race rioting with each other. Being more civilised they will often share the same exclusive hotel, or a bottle of champagne, even the same yacht. Their good breeding also prevents them from being antagonistic about who's going to fill a job vacancy or occupy a basement flat. All of which shows how one's racial views are coloured by one's class conditioning.

While there are social divisions among men there is no biological division. Differences in ideas and attitudes arise from differences in their socio-economic environment.

A negro who has lived all his life in Stepney will be a cockney and a white child reared by Africans in the Congo will be a product of Congo culture.

Yet in this age of jets, sputniks, rockets and television, the superstition and ignorance on the question of race is such that one wonders whether we have made any real progress over our witch burning, rackrending, thumb-twisting, forefathers, and after the recent racial riots we might look less superciliously at the Philistines across the Atlantic with their Klu Klux Klan tradition and Little Rock problem and remember that people who live in pre-fabs shouldn't throw atom bombs.

Before the recent racial outburst there have been outcries against Poles, Italians, Lithuanians, even the Irish. While before the war there were organised protests about keeping the Welsh miners out of London and other cities. Given a recession and a big increase in unemployment, many who think of themselves as British subjects may find that they have become foreigners overnight.

Apart from racial antagonisms there are all sorts of other antagonisms in this society. There are antagonisms between the young and old in the Civil Service, commerce and elsewhere, on the matter of retirement and promotion. The antagonism of married men about other married men whose wives go out to work. The antagonism about policemen who retire fairly young with a pension and are regarded as unfair competitors for certain jobs. The antagonism between miners and agricultural workers when miners work on the land in times of unemployment or trade disputes, and so one could go on and on and on.

National Antagonisms

Then over and above all these are the national antagonisms resulting from the economic rivalry of world Capitalism. In this case, whites feel antagonistic to whites. Have we not been taught at various times to feel hostile to Germans, Italians, Japanese, and others, and they in turn have been taught to feel the same about us. We are now told by press, pundits and politicians that it is wrong for whites to feel hostile to blacks. Although at other times they have held that it is right for whites to feel hostile to whites.

But we shall not see the antagonisms of the present set up in real perspective, unless we realise that it is based itself on an antagonistic class division of income, producing an antagonism of class interests. This arises because a small minority of the population own the means of living and the rest own nothing but their ability to

work. This ownership allows the Capitalists to appropriate profit or unpaid labour over and above what is necessary for the working class to efficiently reproduce their productive energies.

The Capitalists in order to realise this unpaid labour or profit compete with each other on a world-wide market and this international rivalry in turn brings about preparation for war and sometimes war itself.

Worker versus Worker

Given such an antagonistic set up small wonder that racial and other antagonisms are present in a latent or active form. Again in a competitive system where workers compete for jobs and houses, the coloured person who is a worker must become a competitor too. And in a social system where ruling groups exploit race prejudice along with other prejudices to play one set of workers off against other workers, it becomes easy for the coloured person to become a scapegoat for all sorts of social evils.

It is claimed that race prejudice has never been actively promoted in England. Well, if it has not, the English ruling class have certainly actively promoted it outside of England under the slogan of "the white man's burden." As the centre of a vast colonial empire, the empire builders here, made the colonies with their exploitation, oppression and appalling poverty, a prolific breeding ground for national and racial prejudices.

The coloured workers are victims of race propaganda. Native Capitalist groups have sought to gain their support by presenting the white as the common enemy of all coloured people and so using it as means of sharing with the whites or ousting white exploiters, in favour of coloured exploiters. If the coloured emigrant meets with adverse conditions in a hostile environment, race prejudice can be let up.

A lot of left wing sentiment has been shown over the colour question. Yet many of these left wingers give support to all sorts of national Capitalist movements. Only a short time ago they were backing that greatest of national and racial demagogues, Nasser, who is demanding expulsion of whites from the Arab world.

Housing and Armaments

Then there is the left wing, right wing, centrist, Mr. Bevan. In the *News of the World* a few weeks back he said that the Labour Government of which he was a member was worried in 1946 about West Indian immigration. They thought it would lead to increased pressure on houses then, as now, in short supply. Mr. Bevan's Government could have begun extensive housing schemes, but they had much more important things. They had a vast rearmament programme on hand. So there were no houses for black or white. It was the same old story, guns before butter and howitzers before houses. Mr. Bevan and his kind might shed tears over the plight of the immigrants, but they are crocodile tears.

With increasing unemployment there is a lot of talk about last hired first fired. Many white workers have consigned the immigrants to that category. But workers don't control their own jobs, the employer or his manager on his behalf does that. It's no good saying to the employers you must displace coloured workers for white ones should the occasion arise, or you must only employ blacks when whites are not available, otherwise you will create colour prejudice. The employer will take on or sack as he thinks fit regardless of race prejudice.

Back to Jamaica?

One wonders what might happen if the Government decided to build big atomic power stations in Jamaica. In that case many white workers might leave here to go there. Would they in view of what has happened here raise the cry "Keep Jamaica black." So given a change of economic circumstances and it would be emigration in reverse.

There is no real solution to the colour question in Capitalism. Unrestricted emigration with its increased pressure on employment and house accommodation provides fertile breeding grounds for race prejudice. Even restricted emigration or no emigration at all would not do away with the competition for jobs and houses in which coloured workers are involved. Race prejudice would still remain.

How much better if white and coloured workers realised they have a common class interest. That poverty, unemployment, housing shortages, are not a colour issue but a class issue, and while white and coloured workers are enchained to Capitalism, neither are free. How much better off if white and coloured workers realised that the vast sprawling slums of London and other cities are not products of immigration but Capitalism. How much better if white and coloured workers united to bring pressure on the authorities, that it is housing shortages and bad living conditions which are the cause of it all and not be side-tracked by red herrings or black and white propaganda. That, of course, would presuppose that black and white workers have added to their class understanding and how much better that would be as well.

In principle we assert the right of people to go anywhere at any time but the conditions are lacking in present society to operate it.

The very term emigrants meant they are not free people able to move in a free world. They leave their country generally because of the pressure of poverty or lack of economic opportunity. They do not move into an integrated society, but in a world of high national barriers where man is against man, class against class, and nation against nation. A jungle of competition and acquisition where the undergrowth of fear, ignorance and superstition chokes all healthy social growth.

To blame teddy boys for the recent racial disturbances is to evade the problem by seeking a scapegoat. To act on the sadistic advice of the *Daily Herald*, who wanted

to mow them down is to incite race prejudice and an open invitation to group warfare.

Just as proposed legislation for revoking the licences of dance hall proprietors who operate the colour bar or taking away leases from house-owners who refuse rooms to coloured people would make people feel they are being discriminated against in favour of other groups. This would have the effect of further inciting race prejudice. You can't legislate emotion or prejudice.

Our Socialist Stand

We ourselves are not emotionally uncommitted on the question of race prejudice. But we refuse to be so emotionally committed that we lose sight of our own aim and object—Socialism. Emotion is only a positive and constructive force when it is controlled and directed. When it is misdirected its effects are negative and pernicious. We do not put forward our diagnosis of society merely because it is right, but because in the conclusions we draw from it are the humanitarian assumptions of remedying the ills of extant society. We are keenly sensitive to social suffering, but we refuse in lieu of our own remedy to accept what we hold to be harmful soporifics based on a faulty diagnosis. To act other than we do would be to impugn our own humanitarian aims and falsify the reason for our last 50 odd years' existence.

The Brotherhood of Man

To the ideals of other parties we offer the ideal of the universal brotherhood of man. Others have paid lip service to this ideal. We have acted upon it and not to act on what you believe is not really to believe it at all.

We do not only say the vast mass must come to terms with the problems of their time; our very existence is an attempt to help bring it to fruition. For us, man is the measure of all things, and how well or badly he measures up to things is the final arbiter of social change.

Man has the biological prerequisites for co-operation but being a social animal he can only exercise them in and through society. But it is only in a cooperative society can he become a truly co-operative individual. Only where he can equally and freely participate in the community can his own personality become harmoniously enriched.

That is why in answer to this antagonism ridden, man divided, class divided, nation divided society, we proclaim the alternative, Socialism, one world, one people.

E. W.

ALADDIN SAFES FOR EVERYONE

THE press had an unusual story of a locked safe which was bought for 30s. and when opened, out tumbled a jewelled tiara, a collection of antique silver and plate, gems mounted in gold and other jewellery, very much like the contents of Aladdin's cave. Many newspapers throughout the world spread the news and some published photographs of this unique find. The news obviously caught the imagination of the public and the lucky purchaser was seen on two television programmes, and the whole process was featured in a Gaumont-British film, and even broadcast over the French radio.

One newspaper, using a clue found in the safe, was able to locate an old retainer of the family which had once owned these jewels. He remembered the splendour of their regency home, the big parties they held and the magnificent silver laid for dinner. Also that the mistress

would drive along the front at Brighton with her coachman in livery.

They had a large house in fashionable Bryanston Square, London, and would spend two months of the year there. She was a fine regal woman and when she visited the Theatre Royal she would be magnificently dressed with diamonds at her throat and a gleaming tiara.

This was clearly a ruling-class family and it might be both interesting and useful at this point to discuss why it is that jewellery and plate are so closely connected with the lives of these people.

Of what use are gems?

That class who live by the exploitation of working people, have, from historical times, been proud of their privileged position in society which they advertised by

displaying the insignia of their wealth, the ownership of which sets them apart from the mere plebeians.

Employing workers to wear livery is one method of display, for livery indicates that the wearer is unable to take part in industrial money-making employment, and this, in turn, indicates the wealth and therefore the reputable degree of the employer on whom is conferred blameless social standing.

Jewellery has also played its part for centuries as a distinguishing badge of the upper-class. Gratification derived from the use and contemplation of costly and supposedly beautiful products, is, in great measure, a gratification of our sense of costliness masquerading under the name of beauty. The fact that some precious metals and gems do have a measure of intrinsic beauty is incidental. Great as their sensuous beauty may be, their rarity and price adds an expression of distinction which they would never have if they were cheap. The chief purpose of valuable jewellery is to add distinction to the person of the wearer by comparison with those who cannot afford such things and have to do without. The marks of expensiveness come to be accepted as beautiful features of expensive jewellery.

And, incidentally, this display sets an example to those in lower stations of life and acts like a carrot before a donkey's nose, goading him on to ever greater effort. This, in turn, rebounds to the benefit of those who own the means of profit-making and thus is completed the happy circle for those who own the means whereby we live.

How mad can capitalism get?

A little reflection will reveal the waste of human labour used in spreading the news of this find, which is of no real help or use to any of the readers. The national press employ large staffs of reporters, on duty day and night, to sift the items of news coming in, with the idea of blowing some of them up enough to hit the headlines, which have to be filled if the papers are to fulfil their main function of profit making. These individuals, though they are professional writers, fritter away most of their time, not on straightforward writing, but on the tricks of their trade, waiting all night outside the house of someone in the news, in order to get a little more information, usually of a senseless but highly personal nature, or, as in the Aladdin Safe story, taking infinite pains in trying to trace the family mentioned on the fly-leaf of the bible found in the safe, just to get those people's reactions to the news. Then there is the paper-pulp for

the newspaper itself and its transport across the world and the vast army of photographers, engravers and printers, to say nothing of the fleets of motor-vans racing round the streets delivering the papers to those who have the job of selling them.

Following our particular item of news through, there is the waste of schooling and training of the lawyers engaged in sorting out the ownership of the find—whether it should be the old bedridden lady of 77 who should have the tiara and other jewels, or the man who found them, or the firm that sold the locked safe. The more we consider it, all the more glimpses we get of how mad and wasteful this Capitalist society is.

Why the story of Aladdin is so popular

The question also arises of why the story of Aladdin is so popular. Aladdin was a poor boy who found a cave of jewels and through these riches was able to care for his poor mother and who eventually married a beautiful princess. Any man who suffers from insecurity (and who doesn't in a class-dominated society) can easily put himself in the position of Aladdin. Any woman can put herself into the position of Aladdin's bride or mother. No wonder the story has become a hardy annual for the pantomime season. There does not seem to be any reason why the popularity of this story is likely to diminish, at any rate, not for the time being.

The tragedy behind the story

But behind the story of this modern Aladdin there should also be tragedy. While the great moguls of the press, cinema and television are prepared to devote plenty of publicity to an irrelevant story of a purely chance find, where no intelligence, forethought or imagination is involved, there is no space available, whether in the so-called Labour Press or elsewhere, for a sensible analysis of a society which enables an individual to come into possession of wealth produced by others in society. For such an analysis of the news would contain revolutionary implications.

But what should be the greatest news item in the world today gets no publicity, except in the columns of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* and companion papers. And that is that Socialism, a system of society where all wealth is owned and controlled in common, by eliminating war and insecurity, can confer on everyone even greater benefits than can be obtained from safes full of jewels.

F. O.

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

THE Labourites went to Scarborough this year, but having arrived, they had nowhere else to go. Why should they? Apparently Labourites have not yet grasped the fact that after the 1945 term of office they had no claim to be considered in the eyes of the voters as an alternative government. In 1945 they went in on a wave of post-war enthusiasm. They put into effect what was for Capitalism a necessary reorganisation of certain sectors of British industry via nationalisation. They initiated the necessary policies for restoring the debilitated condition of the post-war economy and bringing the social services in line with the requirements of Capitalism.

What else was left in their political ragbag? Only dull odd remnants which did not show up so well with the more brightly coloured Tory jumble sale, and now to vary the metaphor the Labour Party's only appeal to the

voters: "Play the game, you chaps, you've put the other side in twice, let us have a turn at batting."

Nationalisation, which was once the great plank of the Labour Party, is now a heap of sawdust and shavings which was quietly swept up. Even the 50 odd year Labour project, land nationalisation was rejected. Nationalisation, which once helped to float S.S. "Labour," is now in danger of sinking it. Nationalisation rouses no enthusiasm among electors and is a source of disillusionment to the Labour rank and file.

The slogan of the Labour Party should be, "Divided we stand—United we fall," for it is only when there are internal conflicts within the Labour Party is it at one with itself. It is only when it has a vociferously organised element demanding a more militant approach and offering vague threats about storming the citadels of privi-

lege, which give the Labour Party the semblance if not the reality of being different from the Tories. It is only this which raises the pulse and tingles the blood of the hard core of the rank and file and makes them believe that the movement has not yet lost its ideals. Without this there is despondency and gloom and the Labour Party is divided against itself.

At Scarborough there was no Mr. Bevan riding cap-a-pie against Mr. Gaitskell. Instead, they sat on the same steed with Mr. Gaitskell in front holding the reins and Mr. Bevan behind, not even pulling the horse's tail. The Bevanites without their leader and shepherd would only utter a few piteous sheep-like bleats.

Mr. Driberg, the conference chairman, wanted a new public face—he called it an image—different from the public face of the Tories. But there was nothing at the conference which could lead anyone to any other view than that the parties were "identical twins." And even if the Labour Party went in for political plastic surgery or whitewashed their "public face," it would still have the same old dirty Capitalist look.

On Education the Labourites were at one with the Tories. They want smaller classes and more teachers. So do the Tories. If and when they were returned to office Labourites said they would take steps to overcome the teacher famine. But they never concretised what these steps would be. The one thing it seemed was not mentioned in order to overcome the shortage was improved conditions and wages. Labourites want the "best education," it's only the educators they want on the cheap.

They proposed to abolish the 11-plus, but were still going to keep the rat race of competitive scholarships going. They, like the Tories, are anxious to scoop off what they call the cream of working class children essential for the technical and commercial needs of Capitalism. Their so-called educational proposals simply want to make the cream scooping more efficient and bigger.

The conference also voted against the abolition of Public schools. Many moons ago Labourites used to refer to them as seminaries of ruling class education. Now it seems they are of some value to the community. Perhaps if only for the reason that many prominent Labourites have gone there in the past and many more future Labour leaders might take advantage of them at the present. It may be that "On the playing fields of Eton the elections of England are won."

The debate on the Hydrogen Bomb was not as explosive as the year before and as a result there was less political fall-out. That the H.B. would be an issue was fairly obvious because as there were no domestic issues which really divided them from the Tories, whatever differences there were had to be exploited in other fields.

As usual, there were those who opposed the manufacture of the Hydrogen Bomb and wanted this country to join up with other countries in a sort of non-nuclear club. Their motives like their thinking were confused. They don't want to abolish armaments, they merely want the time-honoured, decent and humane armaments, like tanks and bombers, liquid fire and atomic artillery.

Apparently none of the anti-H. B'ers. were prepared to cut all N.A.T.O. commitments. And so, in the event of this country going to war in alliance with the U.S.A., Hydrogen Bombs might still be dropped on "our behalf," but at least we would not have made them. Surely this is a piece of moral perversion.

It was left to Mr. Gaitskell to say what we had ourselves said a year ago, that if America and Russia went it alone, no one could predict the outcome. And even if there was an attempt on the part of British Capitalism to isolate and get other countries to isolate themselves from military commitments with U.S.A. Capitalism, its effects might initiate an even more ruthless policy by American Capitalism, and in turn by Russia, and with it increased strain and tension. The notion that this country could escape a possible holocaust is a piece of dangerous and delusive thinking.

The left wing idealists might also ponder the fact that the abolition of the H.B., if it were possible, might well increase the probability of war.

And if some of the same well-meaning idealistic left-wingers were to take the ideas to their logical conclusion and opt for military isolation from America that, it is pretty certain, would lead to economic isolation, too, and its effects on British Capitalism would be quite disastrous. Such is the unreal world in which many of the would-be militants of the Labour Party live.

The Labour Conference agreed then by a big majority to go on manufacturing the Hydrogen Bomb. But with a broad sweeping humanitarian gesture it decided to suspend testing them. And in this way they sought to assuage their guilt.

But at the very moment certain people raise their cry for the abolition of the H.B., other countries have decided to have a bash. France, Sweden, Switzerland and China have decided to take steps towards joining the nuclear as against the non-nuclear group. Soon it will be unfashionable for a country not to have an Hydrogen Bomb.

Perhaps the U.S.A. will give a small H.B. to Israel as a token of friendly relations and Russia might do the same for Nasser, and Nasser with an H.B. can hardly be conducive to one's peace of mind. No doubt the H.B. chickens are coming home to roost with a vengeance, and there's nothing the Labour Party can do about it.

The Conference at the end went through their usual emotional purging by singing the Red Flag. Then the delegates went home, but why did they ever leave their homes in the first place?

E. W.

PUBLIC MEETING

'WORLD UNREST —WHY?'

DENISON HOUSE

296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1

SUNDAY, November 30th, 7.30 p.m.

Speakers: J. D'ARCY and C. MAY

Admission Free

Questions and Discussion

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Socialism versus Religion

"Clericalism, high church, low church, Roman church, "Labour" church, and tin Bethelism of any calibre, are all in the ruck of reaction. Their power for evil depends, so far as we are concerned, upon the mea-

sure of working-class ignorance prevailing. Given that change in social conditions that will free men economically, the religious forms and influences which have been built up and maintained upon economic subjection must go. Our business, therefore, is to direct the working-class mind toward that changed social condition."

(From an article rejecting the view that attack should be concentrated on the Catholic Church. SOCIALIST STANDARD, November, 1908.)

A PROPAGANDA TOUR IN AMERICA

THE writer was appointed by the E.C. as fraternal delegate of the Socialist Party of Great Britain to the World Socialist Party Conference, held in Boston on 30th and 31st August, 1958.

A propaganda tour of North America was arranged in conjunction with the World Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of Canada, and a number of sympathisers in Vancouver.

On arrival at Boston, on Friday, 29th August, a warm welcome was given, Comrades Rab and Gloss having stayed up all night to meet the plane. Saturday and Sunday were spent at the World Socialist Party Conference, and at one stage it did not seem likely that the writer would ever leave Boston, such was the hospitality shown. A meeting was held on Boston Common on Labour Day, Monday, 1st September, at which Comrades Gloss (Boston local), Comrade Miller (Detroit local), and the writer spoke. The meeting lasted three hours, and gave me my first experience of speaking to American audiences. This was the first meeting held on the Common for some years, and was attended by approximately 200 people. Over £2 of literature was sold.

On Tuesday, 2nd September, I left for Los Angeles, California, a distance of about 3,000 miles, and was met on arrival by Comrade Evans and his wife. Again, the same warm hospitality was shown me. The Los Angeles and district programme was a very full one. September 4th, Long Beach University by the sea, 192 present; September 5th, Monterey Park, discussion with Socialist Party of America (Reformist), 28 present; September 6th, return visit to Long Beach University by the sea, open-air Debate, 190 present. Saturday evening, 6th September, guest on Tom Duggan's T.V. programme, Channel 13, 10.30 p.m. This was a 20-minute interview, which covered a wide range of subjects relating to Socialism. This was the first time a Socialist speaker appeared on television there. This television station caters for some two million viewers. Some of the questions referred to "Money under Socialism," "Is the American worker better off?", "Is Russia Socialist?", "Has the S. P. G. B. any connection with the Communist Party?", "The object of the Socialist Party," "The international character of Socialism," and numerous other questions. Unsuccessful attempts were made to get a tape recording of the interview from the T.V. studio. Sunday, 7th September, 10 a.m., Santa Monica Forum, Lincoln Park, a meeting dealing with the failure of the British Labour Party. Sixty people attended this meeting, which terminated at 12.30 a.m. On the same day in the afternoon there was an outdoor meeting in McArthur Park, Los Angeles; 200 present and approximately 30s. literature sold. This gave the writer his first baptism of American Communists, who

interrupted in the beginning, but finally listened. The meeting lasted two hours, Comrade Fred Evans being the chairman. The stay in Los Angeles came to an end with a dinner, which was attended by a number of Comrades and their wives. After the dinner, tape recordings were played, conveying greetings from Comrades in Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Scotland, England, and Canada.

On to Vancouver from Los Angeles, a distance of something like 1,200 miles, flying up the American Western seaboard. An hour's halt at San Francisco gave me the opportunity to telephone Comrade J. McDonald, for years one of the stalwarts of the Pacific Coast. Arriving at Vancouver via Seattle, seven Comrades provided a reception committee at the airport. Tuesday, 9th September, a radio broadcast was arranged at 5.30 p.m. on C.B.C. Radio. This was an interview with Mr. Ian Errol in a programme entitled "On the Scene." The main points covered in the interview were the difference between the Socialist Party and Reformist organisations, like the C.C.F. of Canada, Social Democrats, Germany, British Labour Party, etc., and "Was Russia Socialist?" We were given a tape recording of this interview, and it was played to the recent Autumn Delegate Meeting. Wednesday 10th September, a meeting was held at the C.C.F. Hall, North Vancouver, on "The British Labour Party." About 40 people were present. The next day I was able to take a six-hour boat trip for a change and landed at Victoria, Vancouver Island. Comrades Luff, Broomfield, and other Comrades, real old-timers of the movement, met me at the pier. The same hospitable reception, and concern for my personal comfort was shown. Later in the evening a meeting was held in a local C.C.F. hall, 45 being present. A very good collection was taken up, and four members of the audience, including a Dutch seaman on a visit to Victoria, became yearly subscribers to the SOCIALIST STANDARD. I returned by boat to Vancouver on the Friday evening. Saturday, 13th September, an informal discussion was held at the home of two young Comrades. This was most interesting and some tape recordings were played. Three further subscriptions were received for the SOCIALIST STANDARD for two years. In the evening a meeting was held at the Moose Hall, Vancouver, at which 150 people attended. This was an outstanding meeting, and the energy and resource employed by those Comrades who organised it is well worthy of mention. Practically every parked car and cafe in Vancouver was adorned with the handbill advertising the meeting, usually without the consent of the owner. The title of the meeting, chosen by the Canadian Comrades, was "World Unrest—Why?" The meeting never flagged; it started prompt at 7.30 p.m. and finished at 10.50 p.m. It could have

(Continued on page 173)

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

NOVEMBER



1958

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

THE TORY PENSION PLAN

PEOPLE live longer than they did a generation or two ago. So there are more voters who are old and the big political parties are more concerned than formerly about having in their electoral shop window something to offer to the pensioners.

Last year, with unlucky timing, the Labour Party put out their pension scheme and thought they had found a good vote-catcher. Mr. Crossman, M.P., said at the Labour Party Conference: "I believe you will find the electorate will want it. At least, I have noticed that the Tories seem a little alarmed at the idea." (Report, p. 124.) Of course, the Tories, being the government and therefore in a position to know when they proposed to have the next general election, had time to study the reception given to the Labour plan and then to produce one of their own. They have done so and have put the Labour Party in a dilemma. The Labour Party and Mr. Crossman call it a "shoddy copy" of their own plan, but now they do not know whether they dare oppose it or not. The Tories have pinched Mr. Crossman's plan and, as the *Manchester Guardian* puts it, have trimmed down the original to make it more acceptable to the voters. The Labour Party are naturally annoyed about this, because it reduces a little more their prospects of winning the next election—prospects generally rated to be rather dim at the present time.

We have no sympathy to offer them in their distress. Rather we would rub it in by saying we told you so. We have been telling the Labour Party reformists for years that the avowed defenders of Capitalism are at least as astute as the Labour Party reformers of Capitalism. Every time the Labour Party has conceived and worked up a good vote-catching reform, the Tories (or the Liberals) have come along and made it their own.

Is there any way of stopping this? Indeed there is. If the Labour Party did not put forward schemes that are good for Capitalism the avowed defenders of

Capitalism would not steal them; anything not good for Capitalism they would not want to steal.

If the Labour Party stood for Socialism and fought elections on that issue there would never be the slightest danger of Tories and Liberals taking it over.

Which brings us to a remark made by the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian* (October 15th, 1958) that perhaps neither the Labour Pensions Scheme nor the Tory Pensions Scheme is the last word. "It may be, indeed, that a fresh approach—different from those of Government and Labour alike—will have to be tried."

How right the *Guardian* is for once—but how accidentally! When the workers ultimately get tired of trying alternately the Tory and Labour plans for tinkering with Capitalism, they will try a fresh approach—Socialism, with whose inauguration there will be no need for any pension scheme because all people, young and old, well and sick, will possess free access to the means of living.

One other observation needs to be made. The Labour Party, from force of long habit, will maintain that the basic idea of the plan is sound, the idea of having unequal rates of pension; a small pension for the worst paid workers and a larger pension for those who earn more and who pay larger contributions. At last year's Labour Party Conference the Executive had to defend this against a minority who held that such inequality is a betrayal of earlier views of their party. These critics were right, for at one time their policy was that there should be adequate flat rate pension for all. They also held that it should be non-contributory. That also has been abandoned; the financial purists are appalled at the notion that workers should be "improvident" and spend all their wages without making provision for old age. Another "principle" they have jettisoned is that of aiming at a "shorter working life," an earlier retirement age. Now 55 has been forgotten, 60 has already given place to 65 and it is by no means impossible that before long they will be wanting to make it 70.

Those who still have faith in the policy of reforms might also note that this new plan (and Labour's plan) by having unequal pensions finally buries the principle of the Beveridge Report embodied in the present National Insurance scheme. Only ten years ago they were telling us how the Beveridge plan had abolished poverty and ushered in a new era. We risk the confident prophecy that it will be less than ten years ahead that the Labour Party or the Tory Party will be introducing another new era to win the votes of the workers for the continuance of the Capitalist system that exploits them.

LEWISHAM BRANCH LECTURES

Mondays at 8 p.m.

at

CO-OP HALL, DAVENPORT HOUSE,
1, DAVENPORT ROAD, CATFORD, S.E.6

November 10th "Cyprus and the Middle East"

Speaker - - J. D'ARCY

,, 24th "Wages and Arbitration"

Speaker - - E. HARDY

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA—contd. from page 171

gone on until midnight. Comrade Ray McLeod was chairman. The S.P.G.B. Propaganda Committee are repeating this meeting at Denison House, Victoria, London, S.W., on Sunday, November 30th, at 7.30 p.m. The writer met many members of the old Socialist Party of Canada, one of whom had travelled 80 miles to attend the meeting, and reckoned it was worth it. Sunday, 14th September, concluding meeting in Vancouver, Stanley Park Forum; again, an outstanding meeting, subject "Socialist Theory and Practice." The hall was overcrowded, over 100 being there. The bulk of the meeting was taken up with discussion, and no less than eight opponents took the platform in opposition. After the meeting the writer had to catch a plane for Winnipeg, leaving Vancouver 11.30 p.m. A rush to the Airport, and a night flight over the Rockies, and the World's Breadbasket, arriving early morning at Winnipeg about 1,200 miles away.

Comrade Shepherd was there, and took me as a guest to his house. A little social was arranged that evening, and I was introduced to pretty well every Winnipeg member of the Socialist Party of Canada. Tuesday evening, September 16th, an address was given to the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council, 62 delegates were present, and we received quite a good write-up in the *Winnipeg Free Press* under the heading "Socialist Raps Labour." Next evening we held a meeting in the Market Square, and an average audience of 40 people listened. This was the first meeting held there for eight years. On Sunday afternoon, 21st September, a meeting was held at the Labour Temple, Winnipeg, on the subject "Problems of British Workers." Approximately 45 attended, Comrade J. Milne was chairman. A number of social gatherings were arranged for my benefit, and a tape recording of greetings was made at one of these socials, Comrade Love, who is over 80, starting the proceedings. The Socialist Party of Canada still discuss the impact which Comrade Gilmac's visit made last year, and how he redoubled their enthusiasm. The late Charlie Lestor, who spent many years in Canada, Moses Baritz, and Adolph Kohn, were all held in high regard. The tales and tribulations of these early pioneers were amusing and refreshing to listen to, as told by their contemporaries.

I left on Monday, the 22nd, early in the morning, for New York, via Toronto. Flew over Great Lakes and Niagara Falls, arriving New York 4.30 p.m. Another dinner and social was provided by members; again, great hospitality.

Two meetings were arranged, one at Union Square, 14th Street (nicknamed Red Square during depression), and 85th Street. The latter meeting was not proceeded with, although police permission had been received. Instead, we held both meetings at Union Square, at which we distributed about 200 copies of the *Western Socialist*. Attendance was very good, ranging from 250 to 350. Outdoor speaking in America is pretty well the same as in England, except that the weather is more reliable. There is no special police difficulty unless you cause obstruction. After a tour of New York, including Harlem, Stock Exchange, I left for Boston on the 25th September, renewed old acquaintances, and a meeting was arranged for Friday, September 26th, at the W.S.P. headquarters, Nathaniel Hall, subject "Socialism and Atomic Extinction." About 40 people attended this meeting. A meeting arranged for Saturday afternoon, Boston Common, had to be abandoned because of rain. On Sunday afternoon, September 28th, a meeting was held on Boston Common, the last meeting of the tour, at which Comrade Gloss and myself were the speakers. There was an average audience of 200. Sunday night I said farewell to the American Comrades, and caught a plane back to Britain at 10.20 p.m.

In all, the tour covered 15,200 miles. Apart from the radio broadcast and television appearance, a total of 18 meetings and lectures were held.

It is not our normal practice in the Socialist movement to mention individual names, but the writer feels it would be less than human if we did not appreciate the efforts of Comrades Rab. Gloss, Morrison, and numerous others in Boston; Comrade Fred Evans in Los Angeles, Comrades Roddy McLeod, Eve Smith, Ahrens, and Holtby in Vancouver, Comrades Luff, George Jenkins and others in Victoria, Comrades Milne, Shepherd, Jenkins, and many others in Winnipeg; and Comrades Davies, Coombs, Kilgour, in New York. Without the organisation on this inter-Continental scale, the tour as such would not have been possible. It is gratifying to note that the Socialist movement is the only movement which has a common message between the Continents, and contains people who are actively organising and have the ability to organise such an ambitious project. That it was done once means that it will be done again and again.

The writer hopes that he may be privileged again in future to renew his acquaintance with his Comrades on the American Continent. They are a grand bunch.

J. D'ARCY.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Indoor Propaganda. A number of meetings have been arranged by Branches and the Propaganda Committee during the winter months, details of the November meetings are shown in this issue. The Sunday Films at Head Office are also listed and a number of interesting titles have been chosen.

The Racial Riots. During the racial riots in West London, Fulham and Chelsea Branch issued a statement to the Press. The Branch said that it was opposed to all racial prejudice, and abhorred the rioting, it stated that the basic cause of prejudice was economic, mentioning



the bad housing conditions, unemployment, in Britain and the West Indies, etc. The Branch also exposed the activities of the Mosleyites during the disturbances, and the fact that they have been fanning the flames of race hatred for some years—one of their slogans being "Keep Britain White"; an obvious attempt to split one section of the working-class from another, that only Socialism would finally eradicate all racial prejudice and hatred from the World. The statement concluded: "Workers of ALL lands, Unite for a better World! For a Socialist World!" The letter was printed in full in *The Kensington Post*; in "A Forum of Local Opinion," *The Kensington News* and *West London Times*, together with the typical reformist statements by the Labour Party, the Communist Party, Tenants' Association and the Union Movement. The *Westminster* and *Pimlico News* and the *West London Press* (both owned by the same firm) gave some prominence to the statement, printing it together

with a statement by a representative of Union Movement, denying our contention that they had stirred up trouble in the area. Mr. Hamm said: "It is too silly for words," but admitted that the Union Movement had held outdoor meetings in the troubled areas. The *Fulham Chronicle* also published our statement, but in a slightly shortened form. The Fulham and Chelsea Branch Organiser estimates that over 100,000 people will have read our statement in the above mentioned newspapers. At the time of writing, *The South London Press*, *The West London Observer*, *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Socialist Leader*, have not seen fit to publish our Socialist viewpoint on the rioting.

Bloomsbury Branch Discussions. "The Trade Union Movement" is the item for discussion on Thursday, November 6th, at 8.30 p.m., in the Branch Room at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

P. H.

THE PASSING SHOW

'Ardies' 'At

At the Labour Party conference the executive only narrowly escaped defeat on a motion which advocated the integration of the public schools in the state system. This would mean the end of public schools as we know them, and the speakers who called for this won the applause of the conference. The executive finally succeeded in getting the motion rejected only because the majority of those old props of the platform, the union block votes, was behind them.

But what difference would it make to our society, which rests on the exploitation of the many by the few, if every public school was closed down tomorrow? Some Labourites seem to come near to believing in this connection that if we all dropped out H's and spoke with provincial accents we should have taken a stride forward towards Socialism. It reminds one of the people who, when asked why the Labour Party claims to be Socialist, recall that Keir Hardie turned up at the House of Commons in a cloth cap, and seem to think that it clinches the argument. But the important thing is not how you dress, but what you do; not how you speak, but what you say.

Miss Bacon's Dislikes

Even the speakers from the platform had to join in the general denunciation. Alice Bacon, M.P., who replied to the debate for the executive, said, "we all detest and dislike the public schools." If by "all" she meant all the people in the Labour Party, the statement is not true. Many leading Labourites not only went to public schools themselves, but send their children there as well. The reason is simple and obvious—they think that children get a better education at public schools than they do at state schools. The equipment and accommodation at the average public school is much better than it is at the average state school, teachers at public schools get more social prestige and higher pay, so teachers with the highest academic qualifications tend to go to them, and most important of all, a teacher at a state secondary or grammar school often has to take a class of thirty-five or forty, while his public school colleague can concentrate on a much smaller number. Naturally those Labour leaders who can afford it send their children to public schools.

Under new management

But the question goes much deeper than this. Even supposing that we had absolute equality of opportunity—which is impossible in a Capitalist society—even supposing that no member of the ruling class could give money or shares or a better education to his children, and that while the Smiths and Browns provided the Capitalists of this generation, the Joneses and the Robinsons provided the Capitalists of the next (again, impossible, but let it pass) even supposing all this, we should have exactly the same society that we have now. So long as we have a Capitalist society—part private and part state, like the Conservatives want, or a little-less-private and a little-more-state like the Labourites want—we will have the exploitation of the mass of people, the working class, by a small minority, the ruling class. To support Capitalism while demanding equality of opportunity is like supporting burglary, provided everyone has an equal chance to become a burglar. Equality of opportunity in our present society simply means that each generation of Capitalists would have different names from the last lot. But who in the world cares what they are called? To alter a familiar line, a sewer by any other name would smell as foul.

The Socialist Answer

Of course, there would be no public schools in a Socialist society. It would be impossible for one child to be huddled with forty others in a badly-ventilated room opposite a soap factory, with the teacher wondering how he can keep up the instalments, while another is in a class of ten or twelve, in an airy room in pleasant surroundings. In a Socialist society, the members of it would determine what education would best fit children for living, and the children would have equal opportunities to benefit by it. But those Labourites who call for the abolition of public schools in our present society are confusing, as they so often do, the effects with the cause.

The methods of Colonel Grivas

There are some facts about Cyprus which seem to have been forgotten.

Colonel Grivas, who is the head of Eoka, has a long

history of extreme right wing activity, and of willingness to resort to violence to achieve his ends. It would not strain an over-used word to call him a Fascist.

Grivas took the opportunity of the feeling aroused by the announcement by a member of the British Government in the House of Commons that Cyprus could "never" be given its independence to begin a campaign of terrorism in the island, which still continues. This campaign is directed not only against the British, but also against Grivas's political opponents among the Greeks, who make up more than eighty per cent. of the island's population. Grivas has killed more Greeks than he has Britons. This fact has been repeatedly stressed by the British authorities. Some of the Greeks have been killed by shooting, others by being beaten or hacked to death in circumstances of revolting brutality: both men and women have been murdered.

A death in Famagusta

In early October a British woman, the wife of a soldier, was shot dead in the streets of Famagusta. At the time of writing it is not known who did it. Eoka have issued leaflets denying responsibility, and the authorities say that if it was an Eoka gunman, this is the first British woman killed by Eoka. However, it seems more likely to have been done by Eoka than by anyone else.

This was a most deplorable crime. The woman had five children, the youngest being still in arms. What happens to the children now? Inevitably the crime must have a terrible effect on them. There is a saying that if you educate a woman, you educate a family; and there is a grim sense in which it is true to say, if you kill a woman, you kill a family.

More deaths in Famagusta

As soon as the crime was known, a body of British troops descended on the district of the town where the murder, as it happened, had taken place. Famagusta is not a large town, and in it numbers of Greeks have been killed by Eoka because Grivas did not like their politics. No doubt in this district there were many Greeks who have had friends or relatives shot or otherwise brutally done to death by Eoka.

The British troops cordoned off the district, and proceeded to arrest every young man they could find. Within hours a thirty-year-old Greek was dead from suffocation, having been thrust into an army lorry with many others who had the misfortune to live in the area; an eighteen-year-old Greek was also dead, in circumstances which have not yet been revealed; a British soldier had been accidentally shot dead by one of his own comrades; ambulances were running shuttle services carrying injured Greeks from the temporary compounds where they were being "questioned" by British troops; no less than two hundred and fifty Greeks had been treated for injuries

("only" sixteen had been retained in hospital, said an official spokesman—"only" is an interesting word to use in this connection); and a twelve-year-old girl, having seen the "questioning" in progress, ran away in terror and died of shock. Apart from this the material damage, such as car-windows and shop-windows smashed in, was considerable.

These figures of casualties are those given by British official sources: unofficial sources put the numbers of dead and injured higher. (At first even an official spokesman said five Greeks had died during the operations, according to *The Observer*, October 5th, 1958, but subsequently he admitted less.)

Revenge—on whom?

If the dead and wounded Greeks, down to the twelve-year-old girl, had all been proved members or supporters of Eoka, then the British ruling class could claim that their soldiers were taking revenge—assuming that revenge, rather than the usual claim of "justice," is to be the British aim in Cyprus. But the victims of this military brutality were simply those Greeks who happened to live in the area—people who, the British authorities admit, are terrorised by Grivas and have suffered more in the way of Eoka killings than the British themselves.

Broken heads, but no violence

Sir Hugh Foot, the Governor of Cyprus, one of whose duties theoretically is to look after the welfare of the citizens under him, issued a statement after these events saying "Our first obligation is to stand against violence," but made not even the most perfunctory expression of regret for the activities of the British troops. Presumably death and injury do not come within his definition of violence when the sufferers are only Greek Cypriots. The War Minister, Mr. Soames, has denied that the troops concerned were out of control; for which one can only conclude that the things they did were not objected to by their officers and commanders. Mr. Soames said that he was very satisfied with the conduct of our troops in Cyprus (*Manchester Guardian*, October 7th, 1958). According to a BBC broadcast, Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Defence Minister, claimed that he was proud of the way the British troops had behaved.

Pride—and prejudice

Couldn't you have said, Mr. Soames, that you would have been even more satisfied if the British troops had injured only two hundred, say, of the local inhabitants, instead of two hundred and fifty? Couldn't you have said, Mr. Sandys, that you would have been even more proud if the soldiers during these operations had caused the deaths of only three people, say, instead of four?

How satisfied, how proud, can you get?

ALWYN EDGAR.

TELEVISION

CAN there be any point or purpose in reviewing television in a Socialist journal? This one-eyed monster, instrument of abomination and ruin, heap bad electronic ju-ju—is there anything to be said for giving it notice and space?

Of course there is. The alternative, in fact, is to

REFLECTIONS ON A MIRROR

take no notice and pretend it doesn't exist: a hopeless pretence, since it exists now in the majority of people's lives. True, its place in our culture is still a suspect, *parvenu* one; but that is only because the grown-up generations still remember the world without it.

The same thing happened and the same things were

said about the cinema, the radio and the novel. Indeed, the history of those and other art-forms suggests that the primitive pot-boilers of early years are the classics of later ones. The 'seventies may even see the U-boys queuing at the National Telly Theatre, *Observers* under arms, to drink in early *Dragnets* or vintage *Spot the Tunes*.

The television is here to stay, at least until the feelies arrive; and while it stays it is making its own contribution to disseminating knowledge, stylizing thought and formulating ideals. It is doing those and other things now, today, this moment—and that surely makes it worth observation. What better time to start than at the beginning of, as it were, a new season? For the winter programmes are upon us: the image in the home is, reputedly, at its brightest.

It would be nice initially to be able to comment on some late masterpiece, another 1984 or *Look Back in Anger*, as drawing attention to what T.V. can do. Alas, there has been none and nothing approaching one; certainly not the production of *Arms and the Man*, which showed only the datedness of this, as many another, Shaw piece.

The most interesting things at the moment, in fact, are two trends in the lesser televisual spheres. One is the increasing amount of petty-drama space given over

to the cops. Currently there are no less than three weekly series about policemen: *Dixon of Dock Green*, *Dial 999*, and *Murder Bag*. Will this affect the crime wave? Well, a curious fact about the present young-delinquent generation is that they were reared under an educational obsession that a policeman is a friend. If he is now to become a fireside figure as well, there is no knowing what may happen.

The other is the sad documentary significance of *Six-Five Special*. For some time now the cameramen have been breaking this programme's continuum of rock and skiffle with shots of faces in the crowd (possibly as calculated relief from the star turns, most of whom would once have got the raspberry on amateur night at the Queen's, Poplar).

This fragmentary portrait gallery is one of the most melancholy commentaries yet made upon our way of life. Any eighteenth- or nineteenth-century artist's record of an audience or a crowd shows rich variety of expression and character: *Six-Five* exhibits a hundred identical adolescent pans with the same glaze on the eyes and the same round-the-clock movement with the chewing gum.

And to think, as one watches, that some people still fear Socialism would lead to everyone being alike.

ROBERT COSTER.

FILMS

"THE DEFIANT ONES."

In 1948 Stanley Kramer formed his own film company with Carl Foreman. He produced a number of films that were, to quote "*Sight and Sound*"—"courageously off-beat." In 1950, under agreement with Columbia, he produced more "off-beat" pictures, among them "Death of a Salesman." The critics began to take notice. Eight years later, film-goers are catching up, and his latest film "The Defiant Ones," which he produced and directed, has not yet received an adverse review.

Kramer has now become one of America's leading producers with an eye to controversial subjects and new methods. Posters for "The Defiant Ones" carry a list of newspaper blurbs that would make Cecil B. De Mille envious. The film has in fact even been serialised in the *Daily Express*, so setting the seal on success. It seems that Kramer is now established after an erratic beginning. Audiences now know him and want for more.

"The Defiant Ones" is a story of two convicts, one a negro and the other white, who defy the written and unwritten laws of the land (The American South) by making for freedom and making for friendship. They are Joker Jackson (Tony Curtis), a brash white youth whose aggressive attitude results from being pushed around by rich men, and whose bigoted hostility to Noah Cullen, the negro, is a result of being brought up in America; and the negro (played by Sidney Poitier), an embittered, cynical man whose bitterness lies in the whole racial issue.

Chained together, they both escape from the state police after a road accident. Moving through rough country they are pursued by a sheriff with state police and sworn-in deputies from surrounding farms. The convicts flee to the North, all the time with their antagonism growing. Though it is the general opinion that they

won't go five miles without killing each other, they manage to stay on the loose, narrowly avoiding a lynching party and ending up with a lovesick woman and her son. The woman takes a fancy to Jackson and suggests they both escape in her car to the big city. Her husband has left her and she is full of get-away-and-go-places dreams (which have no place for the negro). Finally, they all agree upon it, and Cullen makes his own way North, leaving Jackson with the woman and her son. Later, Jackson discovers that the woman has given the negro directions that will lead him into a treacherous swamp.

Negro and white are together again when Jackson realises the friendship that he has for his companion. They both travel towards the railroad and wait at a bridge to jump a freight to freedom. Cullen scrambles on to the train, but Jackson, who was shot by the woman's son when he ran from their house, has no strength left, but grasps the negro's hand (as in earlier shots of the two hands chained together) and tries to pull himself on. They end up by toppling down an embankment to be captured by the police.

The film is from beginning to end an allegory. A scratching upon the surface of the race problem that gets nowhere, but shows that both black and white workers are pushed around all their lives. In the dialogue, the two convicts are discussing their ideas of the world. The white is bitter about his old job as a garage attendant where he had to say "thank you" for a living. The negro talks of the land he once tended with his wife, dispelling Jackson's ideas of "a farm of your own." Cullen worked hard all day, but was still hungry. They argue and Jackson, slighted by this, makes believe that when they are free he will go into a large hotel, but throws at Cullen, "you will have to go in the back door," with

Cullen rejoinding, "while you go in the front door just low enough to collect your tip." This sums up the situation that both black and white workers have to work all the time or starve. Race prejudice on the part of white workers towards black or Jewish or Chinese workers is but a reflection of their own insecurity and ignorance of Capitalism.

No film has been made that shows racialism for what it is, one of the group antagonisms of Capitalism, but "The Defiant Ones" is about as far as any film maker can get with the colour problem. It is, though, a film of great qualities. Kramer is a director of merit, with ideas and techniques that make this film, which could easily have been a flop, a success. The handling of the posse sequences, with police, hounds and rock 'n' roll from a portable radio accurately give the atmosphere of the lawful hunting the convicts, the dangers to society. The superficial aspects of race prejudice are expertly presented

with feeling and understanding. The episode of the lovesick woman also indicates this.

"The Defiant Ones" contrives real tension and suspense in a record of a pathetic attempt by two men to escape from the law, and their success in defying the prejudice that they have always known. Their escape is summed up by a character who lets them free after they have been captured by a lynching mob. He watches them escape with the words, "Run chicken . . . run!" The racial issue is summed up by Cullen and Jackson just before they are captured. They both lay exhausted, and the negro sings a bitter blues that has run throughout the film at intervals. Gun in hand the sheriff of the posse approaches then puts it away when he sees the fugitives together nursing their wounds and thinking they have had a good run for their money. He stares quizzically and the negro spits out the final line of the song at him, smiling contemptuously.

ROBERT JARVIS.

BOOK REVIEW

SUBJECT NORMAL

Pan Books have recently republished E. S. Turner's *History of Courting* in pocket form at 3s. 6d. Mr. Turner has achieved a considerable reputation for the writing of light, informative books on subjects that lend themselves to a humorous, somewhat ironical approach. This, first published in 1954, is his most recent one; earlier successes were *Boys Will be Boys*, a study of blood-and-thunder literature, *The Shocking History of Advertising*, and *Roads to Ruin*.

The book succeeds in what appears to be the chief object in all Mr. Turner's writing—it is highly entertaining. It contains many very funny quotations, the style is without any of the pomposity associated with many books on history, and the points are made very neatly. Many of Mr. Turner's own comments are shrewd, and he has made a very good selection of other authors' comments as well.

There is so much enjoyment to be got from reading this book that any criticism may appear unkind. However, the jokes being told and appreciated, some reflections on the real nature of the subject are not out of place; for though no subject gives rise to so much mirth, perhaps no subject is taken so seriously by so many people. Courting has played an increasingly important part in people's lives from the 12th century onwards. Any analysis of courting should also be an analysis of the development of society. This is not to suggest that a history of courting should attempt to be a history of social development; but the background should be sketched in and be implicit in what is written.

Mr. Turner does not attempt a comprehensive survey, but this, of course, is not a criticism; what can be said is that the book does not make any important generalizations about the subject. Mr. Turner's conclusions, where he arrives at any, are somewhat commonplace. There is a continual shifting of the survey in time and place in order to take in those countries and times providing the most entertaining material.

One important point seems to have escaped him completely. The history of courting is not simply the history of techniques whereby men have sought to gain wives and mistresses; it is also the history of woman's subordination

to man. The ideals prevailing in any society, about courting, are those of societies dominated by men. All societies, at least since the rise of civilization, have created certain standards in the methods of obtaining wives, and women are expected to conform to those standards. Further, there have always been different techniques among different sections of society. Courting among the lower classes is always simpler and cheaper than among their superiors. Mr. Turner has made the latter point but does not give it the importance it deserves.

The book does contain a wealth of information; particularly effective are the sections dealing with romantic love in mediaeval Europe. As Mr. Turner has pointed out, the poetry, songs, fantastic dresses and gaudy battles between rival suitors in twelfth-century Europe were attempts by knights and nobles to render life in castle and manor house more interesting. An important factor here perhaps was the tedious length of a northern winter, with poor lighting and meals made dull by lack of fresh food; there was nothing for a man to do on a dull day except make love, sing songs or listen to the ardent troubadours. Although the courting of the 12th century appears to us to be filled with hypocrisy and vain, useless elaboration, human experience in what is a very important activity was permanently enriched.

The rise of modern society led to a further development of the ideals of romantic love. Courting, in mediaeval Europe the pastime of bored nobles seeking interesting experiences in seducing other men's wives, became under Capitalism the most usual method of obtaining a wife. The idea of marrying for love is the product of a society that proclaims loudly the freedom of the individual. From this individuality there grew also the idea that women were the equals of men, socially and economically, though this freeing of woman from man's domination is still not complete even in the limited context of Capitalist freedom.

In the 20th century the breakdown of the prudish moral standards of the 19th, together with the increasing conviction of the importance of sex, has led to new freedom in courting habits. Alongside this has gone some decline in courting. Courting has frequently been limited by economic factors: people are usually limited

to their own class and even their particular group in their choice of mates.

At the present time the nature of our society is tending to disintegrate social life, and thereby people's individual lives as well. Everyone watches his own TV, minds his own business, makes his own way in the world, drives his own car, has—or wants to have—his own little suburban castle. There is little getting-together: the modern slick pub and dance halls seem poor substitutes for the communal gatherings of earlier times. Parties today often degenerate into that most unsocial of activities, watching the television. Entertainment is second-hand, and much of modern courting technique seems secondhand, too. Courting is declining into something

altogether more flippant, casual—and unrewarding.

Mr. Turner sheds light on these and many other points. It is a pity that he does not adopt a more serious approach; as it is, this book could perhaps best be described as a humorous anthology of facts, opinions and quotations. It hardly achieves the purpose professed in the introduction: "to trace the progress of courting in the western world from the day of the troubador to the day of the crooner." Perhaps, too, a little less quotation and a little more generalization would have made a more interesting book. Not to be ungrateful; Mr. Turner has provided a gold-mine of interesting and amusing stories.

F. R. IVIMEY.

NEWS FROM WALES

THE principality once again, after a lapse of years, has been given a Prince of its own, though the traditional investiture is yet to come. This recognition of Wales' historic status has been welcomed by some, deplored—though in a genteel way—by others, especially the Nationalists. But on the whole the news has been met with an indifference by the majority. The fact is that Wales, despite a certain air of "glamour" that has enveloped it during the past months, is rather depressed.

Unemployment is high especially among the steel and tinplate workers of Glamorgan, due to the recent concentration of the industry into fewer factories where Automation, and other streamlined techniques, have resulted in the need for less personnel. Trade Unions and local Government bodies are now exerting as much pressure as they can to bring the Government along to the idea of building another, and the biggest ever, Strip Steel Mill, on a site in South Wales. No one, it seems, can see that even if they built a dozen mills, the evils of Capitalism would remain.

The situation in the agricultural areas is also far from bright. Attempts are to be made to "revitalise" the country-side and "stop the drift" by afforestation and other schemes.

Perhaps the biggest shock of all has been the recent exposure of the danger of radiation due to "fall-out." It is said that Wales has the highest rate of "fall-out" in Britain; that the Strontium 90 content in the bones of Welsh children is higher than elsewhere in the British Isles. This, it is claimed, is due to a combination of high rainfall and high ground. Of course, here again no one has said that it is really due to Capitalism, and that it would be far easier to remove Capitalism than to level the mountain ranges or shift the direction of the prevailing winds. Speaking in such vein may seem ridiculously futile, but it is a fact that a serious suggestion has been made that Wales should be covered with LIME in order to offset the radiation effects! We presume this is an attempt by Capitalism to whitewash its activities!

We, for our part, can only continue to point out the remedy, in the meantime hoping that we won't be recruited into a lime-spreading Brigade or spend the coming winter preparing the bleak Welsh mountains for pine forests.

As if it were not enough that the workers should be haunted by the fore-runners of things to come; as well as the difficulties of the moment, the scene is made ridiculously nauseating by a violent quarrel over religion,

reminding one of the Religious Persecutions of the past (though in those times people did not have to contend with the added evils of Capitalism).

Recently, a young Swansea soldier died a hero's death (according to some) in Morriston Hospital. He had been present at a bomb test on Christmas Island and was sent home with Blood Leuceamia, brought about, says the British Legion and others, by direct participation in the tests. This has created quite a stir. It seems that in future it will be a waste of time sending boys abroad for a radiation "dose." It will be delivered in larger and larger doses every morning with the milk on our doorsteps.

The report as a whole makes gloomy reading we admit, but it is really difficult to brighten it up in any way unless we add the following:—

The National Eisteddfod was a thumping success; reams of poetry; days of singing; culture writ large across the face of Wales. The British Commonwealth Games held in Cardiff (now given the dignity of a Capital City) paid off well. Welsh footballers brought fame and glory to "Yr Hen Wlad" (The Old Country) by virtue of their performance during the World Cup Series. The Welsh Nationalists have turned out another pamphlet and the miners have been offered a couple of bob more (if they agree to work on Saturdays).

We must add that in our estimation the overall picture as reported above is a grim one, especially exasperating to Socialists in Wales who are eager to end it all.

This, then, concludes our report from Wales—Land of Festivals and "Fall-Out." We are hoping that more of our fellow workers will decide to "fall in" in the near future—not to spread lime, but to spread Socialism, not to kick footballs, but to kick the system out of existence. We feel that the future will then enable us to create monuments of culture such as will dwarf those grim old sentinels—the Cambrian Hills. Wales, will, for the first time, be in the position to give a real welcome to the world's visitors—with no charge made!

W. BRAIN.

GLASGOW MEETING

Sunday, November 23rd, at 7.30 p.m.
ST. ANDREWS HALLS, Berkeley St. (Door 6)
"Socialism—Its Theory and Practice"
Speaker - - - J. HIGGINS

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne. Sydney: 29, Doris Street, North Sydney. Box 2291, G.P.O. Sydney.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.



OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park 3.30—7 p.m.
East Street
(Walworth) November 2nd 12.30 p.m.
" 9th 12.30 p.m.
" 16th 11 a.m.
" 23rd 11 a.m.
" 30th 12.30 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS

Gloucester Road 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS

Earls Court 8 p.m.

FRIDAYS

Earls Court 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Tower Hill Thursdays at 1 p.m.

MITCHAM DISCUSSION GROUP

at
"THE THREE KINGS" (Club Room)
near Mitcham Fair Green
Thursday, November 6th at 8 p.m.
"South African Conflicts" - T. LAWRENCE

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

A series of lectures on Thursday evenings at 8 p.m.

at

668 Fulham Road, S.W.6
(Wilcox, Nr. Munster Rd.)

November 13th "The New Intelligentsia."—LISA BRYAN

November 27th "Historical Materialism."

December 11th "Science and Society."—FRED WARLOW.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTHAM.—Secretary, Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRISTOL 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnsdale Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breaker, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIDSbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Meets every 4th Thursday (Nov. 6th) at "Three Kings," (Club Room), near Mitcham Fair Green. Secretary: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT.—Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellon Rd., Pencuolgi, Nr. Llanelly

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BASILDON (Previously Wickford). Branch meets on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m. at the Graylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence to Secretary, R. H. Bowler, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month at 7.30 p.m. (Nov. 6th and 20th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles, Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 668 Fulham Rd. S.W.6. (Wilcox, nr. Munster Rd.) All correspondence to Secretary, L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrook, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E.1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (Nov. 5th and 19th) at 8 p.m. The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (Nov. 3rd and 17th) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivimey, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. (Nov. 5th and 19th), 126 Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, R. E. Carr, S.P.G.B., c/o Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets 1st and 3rd Wednesday in each month at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham, at 7.45 p.m. Sec. J. Clark, 82a Wellington Road, Burton-on-Trent.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Horpsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbass, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Interwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

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"	9th	"The Boy Kumasena"—	GILMAC.
"	19th	"The Kindled Flame"—	H. JARVIS.
"	23rd	"Out of True"—	C. KILNER.
"	30th	"African Conflict"—	R. COSTER.
Dec.	7th	"The Film That Never Was"—	R. AMBRIDGE.

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

No. 652 Vol. 54 December, 1958

The Welfare State

HAVE THINGS CHANGED?

WE ARE ALWAYS BEING TOLD how different the world is from the world our fathers and grandfathers knew at the beginning of the century. That takes us back to the time when the Socialist Party of Great Britain began its activities. Nobody can deny that lots of things have changed, but just how much has the social system altered in those years? That is what the founders of this Party were concerned with. They looked on a social system in which the accumulated wealth was concentrated in the hands of a small minority, the propertied class; a world in which the workers' life was harassed with poverty, unemployment, bad housing, pauperism and the threat of war.

The S.P.G.B. has always maintained that you can't do anything useful with this social system: if you want something better it has to be a new social organisation, Socialism. Our opponents would not have this. They believed that, through social reforms, they could make things essentially different. These opponents, Liberal, Tory, Labour, have all had their chance to show, as the government, what they could do.

During the first years after the end of the second world war they found themselves largely in agreement in claiming the great change had already taken place, in the founding of what they called the Welfare State. This was to be the foundation on which would be built the progressively different and better state of affairs. Of course, they differed among themselves on some things, as the Opposition thought they could do better than the Government, but they were all at first of one mind that poverty, unemployment and slumps had been abolished and deep foundations laid for something very fine to be built on afterwards. They were all agreed that slums were on their way out.

The Labour Party, being in office from 1945 to 1951, claimed that these six years were the crowning achievement of their political lifetime, the ripe harvest of all their strivings, the proof of how right they were and how wrong was the S.P.G.B.

But in the argument, Socialists always had and have one thing on their side: it is that nobody can prevent Capitalism from breaking through and showing itself for what it is. Let us look at some of the problems that were occupying the social reformers half a century ago, unemployment, slums, poverty, crime, war. They were all going to be abolished.

In the early years of the century there had been the British war with the Boers in South Africa, the war between Russia and Japan, trouble between the Powers and China, wars in the Balkans, and between Turkey and Italy; and a few years

THE RUSSIAN RIDDLE EXPLAINED

PROBLEMS OF TRADE UNIONS IN CANADA

IS IT FUNNY?

YOUTH IN THE MODERN WORLD

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earlier, war in the Sudan, war between America and Spain and war between Turkey and Greece. Trouble was building up over Morocco and the Middle East. This belligerent chaos was accompanied by negotiations to settle the particular disputes; and to settle all disputes by international organisation through the Hague Court.

It all has a familiar ring. Nothing whatever has been solved. There have been two world wars and lots of smaller ones, means of destruction are vastly greater, and world tension is just the same as it always was. Everlasting peace talk, but no peace.

But how are things at home?

Forced to admit this, the reformist will ask us to look at internal affairs, "the condition of the people." Well, let us do just that. There are now half a million unemployed, and the figure is officially expected to rise to 600,000 in the New Year. This is worse than it was fifty years ago, and the worst since 1945, though not nearly as bad as it became between the wars. True, we are assured by the Government (though how do they know) that things will later get better. But what has happened to the almost universal claim of ten years ago that the Keynesian-trained economists and politicians now knew how to manage things without those ups and downs of boom and slump?

Adding the dependents, there will now be a million people affected by unemployment, and this is not anything like the whole story.

The Annual Report of the National Assistance Board for 1957 shows that at the end of the year 1½ million National Assistance payments were being made, and that, including dependents, there were nearly 2,400,000 people wholly or partly dependent on National Assistance.

This isn't what the social reformers promised to do for us.

Most of the recipients of National Assistance are people too old to work. But they were all supposed to have been looked after by the Beveridge plan, the National Insurance Scheme enacted by the Labour Government. Yet in the House of Commons on November 11th, when the Labour M.P., Mr. Crossman, was showing why his own Party's new scheme for additional pensions (and additional contributions) is better than the Government's scheme, he declared that his Party's objective "was to deal with the greatest social challenge to the welfare state, the existence of grinding poverty among old, retired people." (*Times*, 12th November, 1958.) Has it a familiar ring? Of course it has. The phrase about the "grinding poverty" of the worker too old to work was being hawked round half a century ago by the late Lloyd George, the father of the first old age pension scheme in this country.

Surely not the children too?

If the old are half-starving, at any rate the children are all bonny and well fed! But no, as the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* (21st April, 1958) was "alarmed" to discover. The evidence was provided by a report just published, carried out by the Population Investigation Committee.

"A quarter of all families with children under five in 1950 may have been unable to provide a diet fully adequate for the children's growth. This is the alarming conclusion..." (*Manchester Guardian*, 21st April, 1958.)

The Report, which was compiled with the help of local health departments, confirmed the conclusion of other investigations that "the poorest children were the

shortest," their growth stunted by under-nourishment. The *Guardian* could find no reason to believe that any changes since 1950 would have nullified the Reports' conclusion. The reason for this inability to buy enough food was stated to be insufficient income just as it was 50 or 100 years ago.

And crime

Another benefit supposed to follow the reform of Capitalism was the progressive reduction and eventual elimination of crime. It has all gone according to plan, except that the progress has been *upwards*. The present Government is "going to do something about it," and has been assured that the Labour and Liberal parties heartily approve of something being done. In the House of Commons on 31st October, the Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Butler, had this to say:—

"Crime was increasing during the 1930's, but during the war the figures took a sudden upward leap and in 1945 they were more than half as much again as in 1939. There were 478,000 indictable offences known to the police, or 11 per 1,000 of the population in 1945, against a figure of 304,000, or 7 per 1,000 of the population in 1939." (Col. 496.)

Mr. Butler went on to say that "crimes of violence and sexual offences" have increased, as also the rate of crime among young men. He said, too, that the total number of offences in 1957 was about 13 per cent. higher than in 1956 and that in the London area figures were available for 1958, showing that in the first seven months there was "a continuing steep rise."

And all of this has to be taken in conjunction with the comparison with the beginning of the century. Sir Sydney Smith, formerly of the Department of Forensic Medicine at Edinburgh University, pointed out three years ago that crimes in 1953, at 500,000, were ten times as numerous as in 1900 (50,000), and that crimes of violence had increased from 3,500 to 23,000. (*Manchester Guardian*, 18th February, 1955.)

And what of the slums? This problem has been solved on paper many times, but there are now about a million unfit houses and the number falling into decay each year has been recently estimated at over 100,000. The total is far greater than it was between the wars.

The list of unsolved social problems that were going to be solved by the reformers could be greatly extended—the cost of living about four times what it was at the beginning of the century, in face of the pledge of every government to keep it from rising; the increasing drunkenness and drug-taking; the industrial disputes that were going to be smoothed away by arbitration, yet the strikes go on and the number has been increasing in recent years.

And, to go back to the basic question, the accumulated wealth of the country is still concentrated in the hands of the propertied class—which is where we came in.

H.

MITCHAM DISCUSSION GROUP

at

"THE THREE KINGS" (Club Room)

near Mitcham Fair Green

Thursday, December 4th at 8 p.m.

"TRADE UNIONS TO DAY"—T. Lord

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

"Socialist Standard" Sales. Members will know that a committee was formed to investigate the ways and means of improving the "STANDARD." The object being to produce an even better journal for propagating Socialism. The recommendations of the committee are being discussed by the E.C., but whatever the outcome, it must be realised that a better journal should help to sell more copies per month and, to complete the circle, get our case over to more and more people. However, we have a good journal now and it is up to Party members to see that it circulates to as many people as possible. This month is a good time to make the extra effort and if individual members would really try to further this end, a suggestion is to get sympathisers to fill in the subscription form (elsewhere in this issue, and send to Head Office) and start 1959 with new readers subscribing for at least twelve issues.

Basildon and Southend Branches. Unfortunately, the report on activities of these branches arrived too late for insertion in the November issue, but our Essex Comrades are pleased to report that now that these two branches are "pooling" their resources, results are much more fruitful than when the branches (Basildon was previously Wickford Branch) were working separately. They have appointed a joint organiser who is arranging a series of propaganda lectures and film shows during the winter. A joint literature drive has proved most encouraging. *STANDARD* sales have increased in both branches, Basildon has increased its order by seven dozen since last quarter. The Organiser welcomes enquiries from members and sympathisers living in the district, details of the branch addresses are given on the back page in the Branch Directory.

Indoor Lectures. Bloomsbury Branch is holding discussions on the first Thursday in each month at Conway Hall at 8.30 p.m., Islington, Paddington, and Lewisham Branches are holding regular discussions, details are given in this issue, and the Documentary films at Head Office are being shown every Sunday throughout the winter with the exception of December 28th.

Marx and Darwin. The year 1959 marks the 100th Anniversary of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. The year 1859 also saw the publication of Marx's Critique of *Political Economy*. It is proposed to publish articles on the contribution of Darwin and Marx to society and their present standing. Members who would like to contribute are asked to let the Editorial Committee know immediately what they would like to do on these lines.

Mitcham Group. This new group, formed during the summer by a few members living in the Mitcham area, has already served a useful function in bringing several members and readers of the S.S. in Surrey into contact with one another. So far four lectures have been given and attendances have ranged from 14 to 30 people. Secretaries of local organisations have been circularised of the meetings, but these invitations have yielded a nil result. However, short reports of the lectures have been sent to the local press and a correct summary was printed follow-



ing Comrade Hardy's address on: "The Cause of War." The correspondence column of the local has carried several letters outlining the Party's attitude to different questions.

To date, Group members feel results have been reasonable. They appreciate the support already given by members of neighbouring branches, mainly Camberwell, Lewisham and Kingston, and hope this support will continue while the group builds up local interest. Now the Group is making an effort to draw in local workers by the door to door direct approach. In addition to the December meeting (advertised elsewhere in this issue), a series of Thursday meetings for the first quarter of next year are being arranged on subject of topical interest.

Swansea Group. A weekly series of lectures on Social and Economic history have been arranged by the Group. Up to date three lectures have been given. A small but interested group of building workers form the nucleus of the class and there are indications that more interested sympathisers will eventually come along. The sympathisers have purchased the *STANDARD* and other Party literature. The Group was recently in touch with the Socialist Party of Ireland. It is intended to visit them in the near future.

A recent challenge issued to the Llanelly and Swansea branches of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to debate, has in both cases been ignored!

ISLINGTON BRANCH continues to hold well attended meetings, with lively and interesting discussion following Branch business. In co-operation with Wood Green & Hornsey Branch it is proposed to run at least one large public meeting in the North London area (possibly a series of three meetings) beginning early in the New Year. The first meeting will probably deal with the question of nuclear warfare, and the organisers of both Branches are now busily engaged in making all arrangements, including writing letters to individuals and organisations who have been engaged in recent months in holding protest meetings and marches concerning the banning of the "H Bomb." It is hoped that these people will attend the meeting, and perhaps it may even be possible to get one of them to debate.

CAMBERWELL BRANCH has not been reported in News Briefs for some time, but has maintained its usual high standard of activity. This includes two weekly out-

door meetings at which really encouraging sales of SOCIALIST STANDARDS and pamphlets have been made. Branch meetings also canvass throughout the year. Currently, during the winter months, indoor lectures

are being arranged once a month. On Monday, December 15th, Comrade Lawrence will speak on "The African Conflict," starting at 8 p.m. sharp. A fuller account of Branch activity will be given in the near future.

P.H.

THE PASSING SHOW

Time and Money

Capitalism comes to different countries in different forms. The more recently a country has become Capitalist, the more efficient—from the point of view of the Capitalists—its system is likely to be: for it can draw on the experience of the rest of the Capitalist world.

Capitalism's first need is for plenty of workers. One of the most important steps in any Capitalist revolution is to drive many of the peasants into the towns, where they can form the new urban proletariat. If this is done too quickly, agricultural production will suffer; if too slowly, industrial production will be held up. Again, even in peace time each Capitalist state must maintain a standing army, to preserve internal "order" and to deter and to threaten other states. If this army is too small, other countries are not sufficiently impressed; if it is too big, it means that some men are kept in idleness when they could be working in factories or on farms for the profit of the Capitalists.

As the Capitalists see it, one drawback of their system is that these categories—town-worker, farm-worker, soldier—are too rigid. It takes prolonged economic discomfort before a town-worker will become a farm-worker, or vice versa; if only because it usually means a man and his family leaving the area they know and moving away to another district altogether. And when in war-time the army has to be rapidly expanded, it takes time and money to set up the large organisations necessary to conscript and train workers as soldiers.

Latest Model—Convertible

But China, which has been setting up its state Capitalist system only in the last ten years has been able to draw on the experience of British, American and Russian Capitalism, and has apparently been able to avoid some of the shortcomings of earlier Capitalist systems—shortcomings, that is, in the estimation of the ruling class. For example, over-rigid classification seems to have been avoided. According to press reports (e.g. *The Observer*, 9th November, 1958), the unit in the new Chinese Capitalism is not the factory or the farm, but the commune, the average size of which is "about 8,000 households." The great advantage of these, to Mao Tse-Tung and his fellow-rulers, is that the Chinese worker is not allowed to settle down as one thing or the other; instead, he is organised in a thousands-strong labour corps, and then he and the rest are used as "workers peasants or soldiers, according to actual needs." If this scheme succeeds it will make the American and Russian boss green with envy.

The Chinese have gone further. Communal mess halls are set up to feed the workers, and kindergartens to take care of their children; and thus the women of the commune too are "set free"—to join the labour corps. Shantung Province claims that it has "liberated six million women for productive work." The commune owns all the land, the peasants having been compelled to hand

over their individual plots to it. It runs agriculture within its boundaries on the lines of a great state farm. It also runs schools and broadcasting stations, collects the taxes—and organises the militia. But it does even more. In the last year or two thousands upon thousands of small factories have been set up throughout China: these, too, are run by the commune. It is "industrialisation without towns." By these means the Chinese ruling class hopes to avoid the waste of the years of starving out the peasants, and the diversion of resources to build great new towns, which slowed up the British and the Russian Capitalist revolutions. The commune has replaced the town or the factory as the unit of industry, the village or the farm as the unit of agriculture, and the regiment as the unit of the reserve army. If everything which is reported is true, China's system may turn out to be the most profitable Capitalist system we have yet seen.

Back to the alphabet

But why is this system mistaken for Socialism or Communism? Both those who support China's rulers—the Communist Party—and the majority of those who oppose them, call China a "Communist" country. The *Observer* article mentioned above had a sub-title "A New Communism." This is to get the very ABC of economics wrong. A more efficient form of Capitalism does not become Communism. All the well-known features urban (and rural) proletariat, owning neither the tools they work with nor the things they produce; a money-system of exchange, which is pointless except to deprive the workers of the full value of their produce; and a resulting surplus value, which goes to support the ruling class, for whose benefit the whole system is run.

Heredity

Another book has been published recently about the Churchills, from the Duke of Marlborough and his forebears down to Sir Winston. The idea behind it is a common one: that social characteristics, such as the quality of "leadership," are passed down from parents to their offspring. No one doubts that physical characteristics, such as the colour of eyes and hair, are passed on to children in all animals, including human beings. But that social characteristics can be passed on seems a lot more doubtful, to say the least of it. In any case, full investigations are seldom made. To trace Sir Winston Churchill's descent from the Duke of Marlborough, and to conclude that Sir Winston inherited some of the qualities of the Duke, is often done. But Sir Winston is in the eighth generation from the Duke, which means that he had two hundred and fifty-six ancestors in the Duke's generation, all of whom, according to this theory, presumably contributed as much to Sir Winston's character as the Duke of Marlborough did. And of these two hundred and fifty-six, sixteen were full-blooded Iroquois Indians. (Sir Winston Churchill's mother had one Iroquois great grandparent). So if we accept the theory, whatever Sir Winston got from the Duke of Marlborough,

he must have got sixteen times as much from the Iroquois. But whoever wrote a book about that?

The velvet glove

As a postscript to the events at Famagusta last October (when four lives were lost and two hundred and fifty people were injured in the British "search for suspects" after a woman was found murdered) a remark of Brigadier Terence Clarke, Tory M.P. for Portsmouth West, is not without interest. The Brigadier says (*Reynolds News*, 9th November, 1958): "We've had too much of the velvet glove: what we want is a bit of the mailed fist."

If four deaths and 250 injuries appear to the Brigadier to be too much like the "velvet glove," one wonders what scale of casualties among the civilian population would be produced by his "mailed fist."

Laugh of the year

Sir Anthony Eden is reported to be among the possible candidates for the Nobel Peace Prize for 1958 (*Sunday Express*, 9th November, 1958). This Peace Prize award is always ridiculous; how can it be anything else, when it is inevitably presented to someone who supports the present system of society, which leads to wars as surely as old bread goes mouldy? But the consideration of this man, whose last service to peace was to commit aggression against Egypt on the grounds that Israel had already attacked her, makes the whole thing even more of a farce.

Scandal

Those who live on the exploitation of the workers have of late years become much more coy. Once no gentleman would admit to an occupation; now the wealthy often conceal their idleness by becoming directors of companies. Nevertheless, members of the upper class them-

selves sometimes let slip in unguarded moments just how much work is attached to being a director.

One such admission was recorded on October 12th in the *Sunday Express*, which in its hot pursuit of scandal often allows the rest of us illuminating insights into the lives of the rich. Some time ago a "Kentish squire" disappeared from his home, at the same time as a riding mistress nearby disappeared from hers. The *Sunday Express* had to give its readers a long report on the matter, with all the details, of course: no doubt in fulfilment of the high moral duty of the newspapers to the public, about which they so often tell us. But what concerns us is the fact that the squire was a director of an estate company. If the holding of a directorship fools the world at large, it doesn't seem to have fooled his wife. Her husband, she said, "hasn't worked for twenty years."

We all have our worries

On the topic of directors, an interesting little booklet has appeared recently. It is entitled "Health Problems of Directors," and it is published by the Institute of Directors. Among the dangers and causes of ill-health that these gallant men have to contend with are mentioned: (1) Eating too much; (2) Drinking too much; (3) The blows to a director's self-esteem which come from being theoretically in charge of a concern about which his subordinates know a lot more than he does. The man at the factory bench or clerking in the office seldom realises the risks run by his boss. The Institute of Directors, of course, might lengthen its list. For any new edition of this stimulating little work may we mention these further hazards of a director's life: (1) Falling off his horse when playing polo; (2) Barking his shin when his chauffeur is helping him from his Bentley; (3) Spraining his wrist while tucking into the turtle soup at official banquets.

ALWYN EDGAR.

PROBLEMS OF TRADE UNIONS IN CANADA

Rail Workers Take a Beating

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD frequently comments on government stumbling blocks placed in the way of organised workers trying to gain improvements in wages and working conditions. Regular readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD will not be surprised to learn that Canadian workers also have troubles of this kind.

A trade union in Canada establishes its right to become the legal bargaining agent for a group of workers only after a government-supervised vote of the workers has been taken. It must also, of course, convince the employer of the advisability of conceding this representation. In this it is not always successful, and the law does not compel the employer to deal with the union.

When a union has become "certified" or legally recognised as a bargaining agent, and is so recognised as well by the employer, its next step is to approach the employer for a contract that will govern the wages and working conditions of its members for the duration of the contract. If the union had been previously certified and is already under contract, it must, in order to change the contract, serve notice of this desire with the employer at least thirty days before the contract expires. Then the long journey begins.

The employer and the worker, in the persons of their respective representatives, get together at a time and place agreed upon and talk things over. These talks are usually continued as long as the employer can manage. Why hurry? The law requires that a lot of red tape be unwound before a strike is legally permissible, and no matter how slowly it unwinds the employer is protected. And prolonged negotiations usually tend to wear down the determination of the workers to stand by their original demands, causing a settlement more favourable to the employer. So it is not unusual for the preliminary conversations to break down.

The next step is the appointment by the government of an arbitrator, whose ostensible function it is to get the contending parties together again and see if something can be accomplished that wasn't accomplished before. The arbitrator can generally be depended upon to devote as much time to the task as possible. This writer knows no instance of an arbitrator helping to bring about a settlement.

Next comes the main event—a conciliation board. The conciliation board is also appointed by the government. It is made up of three members, one named

by the employer, one by the union or unions concerned, and one by the government. The government nominee is the chairman. The findings of this board are not legally binding on the disputing parties, but they often form a base from which a settlement develops.

It is the stated purpose of the conciliation board to hear the case of the parties in dispute, sift the material presented, and try to agree on what they would consider to be a "just settlement." This type of board will hold hearings for a long time and often stays in business for several months.

Then, after being subjected to all this pompous time-wasting, if he has gotten nowhere, which often is the case, the worker may, by permission of the government, and if he has any steam left, go on strike—although, in certain instances, the government may insist on compulsory arbitration, according to a bill passed recently through Parliament.

The most representative example of what can happen to workers in Canada in dispute with employers is provided by the railway shop workers, presently trying to increase their wages and improve their working conditions. A review of their travels might be of interest.

The rail workers' contract with the railways (Canadian National, Canadian Pacific, etc.) expired on December 31st, 1957. On the previous November 12th, in line with government regulations, they informed the railways of their desire to sign a new contract embodying improvements in wages and working conditions and asking the railways to meet them in discussions. The discussions were held, but did not last long, being described in a report of the railway unions to their members as having been "brief and abortive."

The brevity in this instance was a departure from the usual practice. The railways rejected the union proposals and made no substitute proposals, claiming they were not in a financial position to consider an improved contract for the workers. As became apparent later, this unyielding abruptness arose from an intention to use the demands of the workers as a lever to gain increased transport rates on freight, these being regulated by a government board.

Ordinarily, the next step would have been the appointment of an arbitrator, but the unions, momentarily aware of what was going on, asked the government to waive this appointment, since the railways had made no offer and there was nothing to arbitrate. They asked instead that the conciliation board be appointed.

The government concurred in this request, perhaps knowing no good reason for declining. But it managed to delay matters in another way, by naming as chairman of the conciliation board a well known and consistent nominee of employers on other conciliation boards, which raised a clamour of protest from the unions and his ultimate replacement by another who, the unions felt, would be more impartial. A prominent union spokesman described this replacement as a victory for the railway workers. It was also the source of a time lapse of more than two months.

It must be pointed out that the unions are to a large extent to blame for the delay that followed. In spite of all their previous experiences they still, gravely and in detail, follow the devious course mapped out for them by the government, and they still accept, as something akin to gospel, the government's mumbo-jumbo on employee-employer relations. In the present instance they hired an "economist" to help in the preparation

of their submission to the conciliation board. The result was not surprising. In another of their reports to the men the union representatives declared that "during the first eight days of presentations, some 250,000 words of testimony were placed on the record." The old time trade unionist, who often made his presentations before lunch and completed his business after lunch, could not have thought up that many words in a lifetime.

The hearings before the conciliation board lasted nearly four months. Then the board went into seclusion, presumably to sift these mountains of words into the substance of a "just settlement." This took another six weeks, which in the charitable eyes of the rail workers indicated "a long period of sifting evidence and reaching conclusions."

The findings of the board were released on July 21st. This was followed by a period of silence during which the wisdom of its content was digested by the parties concerned. After an interval the unions declared their willingness to accept its provisions. After another interval the railways rejected its provisions. At the moment of writing, nearly twelve months after the unions served notice on the railways of their desire for a new contract, a strike vote has been taken the result of which has not yet been made known. The purpose of the strike will be to enforce acceptance by the railways of the settlement proposed by the conciliation board, which will provide the workers with less than half the amount of their original demands!

The railway workers, even if they gain a complete victory, will at the same time be getting a bad beating, having allowed themselves to be manoeuvred into the position of being willing to go on strike for trifling ends. An important thought for their future guidance is to refrain from allowing their time, energy and stamina to be frittered away by those whose chief concern must always be to protect the interests of the ruling class.

The workers need also to learn that the size and quality of the material brought before a conciliation board is not important to the final outcome. No matter how impressive or convincing this material may be, the board, with promptings from the government, is guided by considerations designed to leave the worker not far from subsistence level. Evidence of this may frequently be found in board reports, an example being the following from the report of the railway conciliation board:

The Chairman throughout was concerned about the conditions of the economy as a whole and the need for moderation in wage demands. . . .

What caused the chairman to become concerned about these things was certainly not contained in the material submitted for his consideration!

An even more blatant disregard for the alleged functions of a conciliation board is contained in the report of the board conciliating the recent dispute between the Steel Company of Canada and its employees at Hamilton, from which the following is taken:—

"It is our view that in coming to a decision on what should be done about wage and other economic demands, made by the Union at this time, our decision must be governed to a very considerable degree on our interpretation of what is in the national interest and what effect should be given to it."

"The interpretation of the Government itself as to what is presently in the national interest as far as wages and prices are concerned, is to be found in the speeches and statements of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance and need not be quoted here at length. In general, both Employers and Unions have been exhorted to 'hold the line'"

This conciliation board awarded nothing at all, and although its deliberations were given the added weight, prestige and genius of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance, it is with some satisfaction that we are able to report that its findings were ignored and the steel workers went on strike, gaining an increase in wages of some 26 cents an hour.

Railway and other workers are at present showing too great a tendency to place their problems of wages and working conditions at the discretion of government boards. That this is an unsafe thing to do is shown by the quotations above. The lesson provided by the steel workers is quite plain. The strike is still their most effective argument.

J. M.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Why the Unemployed are Necessary Under Capitalism

The position may be summed up as follows. As under present conditions, all commodities are produced for profit, production must cease with the cessation of profit. As profit and wages between them constitute and have their only source in the value created by the worker, profit

can only appear while wages are prevented from consuming the whole product of labour. As wages, the price of labour power, are regulated by the relation of supply and demand, a surplus of labour-power (the unemployed), is necessary to prevent wages swallowing up all profit. Therefore the unemployed army is a vital necessity to Capitalist production, and there can be no solution under Capitalism. (From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, December, 1908.)

IS IT FUNNY?

THE writer was once with a group of South Africans listening to the wartime experiences of one of them in Egypt:—

"There were we at the station crowded into the train, when a wog got on with a tray of fruit. Nobody wanted any, but he kept hanging around. So Charlie put a foot in his belly and gave a good shove. The wog went flying in one direction, and his fruit in another."

This anecdote was received with roars of laughter, except from the writer, who said he could see nothing funny in it.

The attitude revealed is only too typical of South Africans, most of whom readily believe that they are superior beings compared with the non-white majority who live in the same country.

The Nationalist Government has recently been re-elected for a third term, and now has Dr. Verwoerd at its head—a man who, by his speeches and actions, has indicated that he is thoroughly in agreement with this view. So convinced is he of white superiority that he will not even discuss their future with any delegation of non-whites. What is laid down for them is their future, whether they like it or not.

In general the South African non-whites are an easy-going, cheerful, extrovert lot. They will usually accept life as they find it, without taking too much notice of the fact that the whites seem to be so much better off than they are. Had they shown as much aggressiveness as the North American Indians, for example (who had reached pretty much the same stage of social development), their present position might be much the same. That is, they might have the Indians' alternative of a tribal life on a reservation, or of becoming integrated, with full citizenship rights, in the white community.

Being in a majority of four to one, the South African natives could run things entirely their own way, if they chose to get together for that purpose. They are kept apart by language—there are about twelve native languages, with many dialects, and by the fact that all native men need a pass to move from one place to another.

This pass system has existed for a long time in South Africa, but it is only within the last two or three years

that it has been rigidly applied. In its present form it gives the police the power to move the native population around at will, if in their view, and the view of others in authority, there is too great a concentration in any area.

The procedure is to descend on native dwellings, usually at night, and demand the passes of all those kept therein. Those with official permission to be in that particular area are usually left alone, except for such minor indignities as the police see fit to inflict. Those who can produce passes, but not permission to be in that particular area, are summarily removed to the places they came from. Those who can produce no documents at all are flung into gaol.

The most recent development of the pass system is the inclusion of native women for the first time. Perhaps this is the last straw that will break the long-suffering patience of the non-white South African. We quote from the Johannesburg Star of October 29th, 1958:—

"It may, of course, be true that the demonstrations in the last few days against the issue of reference books to native women in Johannesburg have been instigated by agitators, including Communists. Indeed, it is obvious that a concerted effort of this kind cannot have been spontaneous and that a good deal of organising has gone into it."

"This is, unfortunately, never the complete answer to movements of discontent and protest. Agitators can only work with the material that is there and exploit grievances that really exist. In the present instance, there has never been any doubt about the opposition of the native people to the issue of 'passes' to their women. They believe that it will expose the women to constant molestation and harassment by the police, as well as interfering with their freedom of movement."

"Is this opposition reasonable? The question immediately raises another. Should laws be imposed on people without any attempt at consultation and without regard for the fears they may entertain, whether these fears are justified or not?"

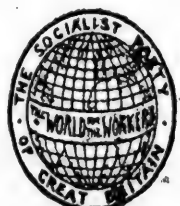
"No machinery of any value exists for consulting the Natives about measures that affect their lives intimately."

"It is the practice to make such laws as the Government and a White electorate think desirable for the 'control' of Natives without any thought of Native reactions to them. They are treated as aliens who are here on temporary permit only and must subject themselves to any rules that authority may devise." (Our italics.)

(Continued on page 189)

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

DECEMBER



1958

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; phone MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

RUSSIAN RIDDLE EXPLAINED

WINSTON CHURCHILL, in one of his little oratorical exercises, once described Russia as "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." If he meant that it is hard to foresee where Russian internal strains and stresses will thrust out next, and the precise form they will take in foreign policy, it could have represented his true opinion. But on a rather larger scale he was doing himself an injustice. With his background and outlook, and his own easy disregard for political party shibboleths and loyalties when British capitalist interests are concerned, he could have no difficulty in understanding long-term Russian state policy and actions: one representative of aggressive imperialism can hardly fail to appreciate his opposite numbers in Russia.

But if Churchill chose to write himself down as more ignorant than he is, there are many others who claim to understand about Russia much more than they do.

These reflections are provoked by an article by Emanuel Litvinoff, reviewing E. H. Carr's *Socialism in One Country* (*Manchester Guardian*, 14th November, 1958). Carr's book describes developments in Russia in the years 1924-1926. His theme is that "Mother Russia was digesting the Bolshevik Revolution." "As the Soviet Government became more and more openly the heir of Russian state power and attracted to itself traditional feelings of Russian patriotism, it proclaimed its mission in terms which conveyed to sensitive ears unmistakable echoes of the Russian past... the cause of Russia and the cause of Bolshevism began to coalesce into a single undifferentiated whole."

It is on this theme that Carr explains the passing of the "Westerners," Trotsky, Lunacharsky and others and the rise of Stalin with his isolationist slogan "Socialism in one country."

Emanuel Litvinoff accepts this proposition and opens his review by recounting a remark made to him by a Communist friend who is troubled about the Russian

tyrannies. He said: "For me the important question now is whether these arise out of something inherent in the Communist movement, or whether they are specifically Russia."

Carr and Litvinoff and the "Communist" friend are all wide of the mark. Of course, different countries have different histories, different geographical features, different institutional developments and different traditions, but in their study of these the men we are criticising have been so obsessed with the detailed differences that they cannot see the underlying capitalist development that marks Russia and the West, and the whole of the modern world of Capitalism. They cannot see that the democracies of Western Europe had a history that mirrors Russia's present stage of institutional evolution. They have been so busy studying the varieties of leaf and flower that they cannot even see the trees, let alone the wood.

What basis is there for their repetition of the popular misconception that Russia is "Socialist," or for their new misconception that Russia is not Capitalist but "Russian"? Apart from the political dictatorship—which they could study in the past of Britain and Western Europe—where are or ever were these so-called Socialist features of Russia? Commodity production, the production of goods for sale and profit, the existence of a great propertyless wage-earning class, the huge national debts and bond-holding, the banks and insurance institutions, the inequalities of income and the complex taxation systems, the preoccupation with Capitalist investment, foreign trade and the military struggle for territories and the control of trade routes—these are the features not of Russia as such or America or Britain as such, but of world-embracing Capitalism.

Their defence for their unsupportable notions always is that Russia has gone further in State intervention, in the form of the great nationalised industrial and commercial monopolies. This, of course, is the crux of the question and the source of their confusion. These features are not Socialist, but Capitalist: State Capitalism is not Socialism and cannot be shown to be anything else, but a form of Capitalism and one familiar enough in all countries.

And if thrown out of that indefensible position, they retire to their second line of defence, i.e., that "Socialism" now means "State Capitalism," because they and so many others profess to think that it does, they have to explain away the fact that the early Bolsheviks in Russia never held that view, but always lined themselves up with the Marxian conception which flatly rejected it.

What has happened in Russia is not the mere continuation of Russian tradition under another name, nor the development of a different "Socialism" (which would be like deciding to call chalk, cheese), but the emergence of Capitalism, growing more marked with the passage of time, in place of feudalism. Russian evolution is Russia's delayed version of the Revolution which brought Capitalism to supremacy in France a century and a half ago.

The turn of events in Russia is not the failure of Socialism or its corruption by Russian tradition, but the total failure of the Bolsheviks to impose Socialism on an unready country, against the wishes of the population who were not and are not Socialists.

The S.P.G.B. foretold this failure at the start, forty years ago. How long will it take the Carrs and Litvinoffs to see the riddle as it really is, no riddle at all?

IS IT FUNNY?—contd. from page 187

We have two pictures from the Johannesburg *Star* of the following day—October 30th, 1958. The captions underneath read as follows:—

"Tear Gas, batons and handcuffs were used by policemen today to disperse Native women outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. The women were ordered twice to disperse. Then the police charged. This photograph shows a policeman using his handcuffs instead of a baton, chasing some women—one has a baby on her back."

"A young police constable wields a thin case as he chases a stout native woman away from the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this afternoon. During the excitement a baby was found in the gutter—its mother had a gashed leg."

The *Star* is the Johannesburg English evening newspaper. Its politics can be described as "United Party" or opposition, though it has, over the past few years, shown somewhat more sympathy with the Nationalist regime than have the other South African English newspapers.

We, in Britain, and the more advanced countries should not congratulate ourselves too much on the intellectual and other "freedoms" that we enjoy. It is not such a long time since strike meetings and even mere

attempts to form trade unions led to the use of police and troops. And it is only twenty years since international capitalism got ready for its last all-out conflict, and assumed arbitrary powers over the lives of the working class.

We have, however, the right to organise consciously for the overthrow of Capitalism, something that would not be possible in South Africa without running foul of the "Suppression of Communism" Act.

In the circumstances at present, however, we can do little more for South Africans, black or white, than to express our sympathy.

Britain, America, France and other "advanced" countries are not without problems arising from antipathy of workers with one colour of skin for those of another colour. Capitalism is competitive, and competition for jobs is part of it.

Socialism will be co-operative and moneyless, with no economic reason for racial or other antagonisms. There will only be the common task of using the natural resources of the world for the benefit of those who live on it.

J. O. B.

YOUTH IN THE MODERN WORLD

ONE of the features of English social life in the post-war years has been the ascendancy of the adolescent age groups. Not only have entire new branches of the entertainments industries sprung from the enthusiasms and the spending-power of the young; a popular press exists for them as it has always done for the so-called middle class, and a small popular culture has grown round their emotions and their "rights." At the same time, the spread of juvenile crime and hooliganism has alarmed the police and a good many other people. What has happened to the younger generation?

Before the war a school-leaver was lucky if he was paid fifteen shillings a week, and luckier still if he had any of it for himself. He was fettered on the one hand by the lowness of wages—especially his—and on the other by his new status in the home, bringing in money when it was usually urgently needed. More often than not he handed in all his pay; clothes and fares were bought from the family exchequer as in his schooldays, and he might have a shilling to blue on Saturday night.

It was largely on this little-to-spend dependence that the serious, character-training organizations for adolescents thrived then: Scouts, Guides, Boys' Brigades, and the like. They offered companionship, horseplay and games for next to nothing, and cheap camping holidays *ad lib*. Nowadays their membership above the school age is fractional and their influence on youth insignificant: the difference can well be seen in the fact that the pre-war Rover Scout movement for young men has had to be disbanded in recent times.

The changed circumstances of today hardly need pointing out. They are not universal, of course; plenty of adolescents can never grasp the well-known present-day educational opportunities because they are needed as wage-earners in the home. Nevertheless, it has been part of the economic conditions of the full-employment era that employers have had in general to woo the younger generation. There have had to be rewards and attractions to recruit typists and comptometer hands for the post-war volume of commerce and trainees for the

new armies of engineers—and, correspondingly, greater inducements for the less-favoured jobs as well.

The adolescent has become, in fact, emancipated financially. He (as a matter of course, this includes she) has some money in his pocket, can buy his own clothes, purchase his own amusements. Two additional factors set the seal—within its limits—on this emancipation. First, older generations, mindful of their hard times and unyouthful youth, tend to gain compensation and pleasure from seeing their children "not going short." And second, in a great many cases the adolescent himself knows that he is never likely to have so much money to spend again. The boy of eighteen earning a man's wage may be fortunate; by definition, however, it is as much as he will ever earn when he has to keep a family.

But the shackle-breaking has not been just a question of income. That is one side of it. The other is the severance from tradition that changes in society's superstructure have forced. In earlier times, and even for working people within the last sixty years or so, one generation's experience was closely like that of another. In work, education and domestic detail, a son's life was unlikely to differ much from that of his father; the traditions and ideals of the older generation were guides for the younger one.

What has happened in more recent times is that the development of new industrial techniques, greater specialization and division of labour, and with them changes in the education of the young, have led to the breakdown of these patterns. The adolescent of today does not have to learn his way of life from previous generations. He is emancipated from tradition, too.

There are innumerable reflections of this relative freedom, most of them reflecting also that American youth had it first. The absence of long-standing traditions in America, and the twentieth-century surge there of technical development, produced effects which were quickly communicated to this country by the cinema: the Andy Hardy films of the 'thirties gave clear glimpses of what was happening to adolescence. There have been the

songs—"Too Young," "Teenage Love," etc.—laying down the claim to earlier marriage; the TV programmes and picture-strip mags. for the under-twenties, often with the same slightly defiant don't-you-find-fault-with-youth overtone; the films concerned sentimentally with the adolescent's emotions, or noisily with his fun.

Is this a good thing? From the mass of newspaper, magazine and broadcast stuff about "modern youth," some evaluation ought to be possible. The fact is, however, that the commentaries are made from severely limited viewpoints, almost never from the social one. When they are not Christian pronouncements (or, occasionally, psychiatric ones: the *Sunday Pictorial* recently advocated cuddly toys as therapy for mixed-up adolescence), they are heavily loaded either sentimentally or culturally—either assuming that youth is necessarily admirable, or arguing from antipathy to rock 'n' roll. Nor is the sympathy disinterested: the emancipated adolescent is a source of income to all kinds of people.

And this leads to the real point. Has youth really gained in freedom? The modern teen-ager has, for a probable maximum of five years, some financial independence, and he is no longer bound by former conventions. On the other hand, he is delivered whole to the greedy commercial class to dress up in, swallow, read and recreate himself with their gaudy mass-produced rubbish. The sad thing about such a phenomenon as rock 'n' roll is that the adolescents who jig and bound to its metronome rhythm think they are letting their hair down, whereas in fact it is being held down firmly in a fixed position by the film and record companies and other interested parties.

The belief that modern youth has generated for itself a separate culture is at bottom a mistaken one. True, there are all its appearances. Basically, however, adolescent behaviour is only the juvenile (and therefore cruder-looking) version of the culture-pattern of the grown-up world of modern Capitalism. Adolescents are given to showy display of dress and possessions: but this is the world in which conspicuous consumption is equated with "higher living standards." They make and follow heroes of brash, hollow and ephemeral figures: are these different from the heroes of the world at large?

Indeed, the typical teen-age hero is the teenager's own reflection, a little larger and louder, and this complies fully with the requirement for political leadership remarked over forty years ago by Trotter in *Instincts of the*

Herd in Peace and War:—

"He must remain, in fact, recognizable as one of the flock, magnified, no doubt, louder, coarser, above all, with more urgent wants and ways of expression than the common sheep, but in essence to their feeling of the same flesh with them."

The place of violence and greed in the present-day world should be mentioned, too. It is fairly obvious that youth wanting to claim grown-up privileges will see physical and sexual prowess as the things to show; and equally obvious that so far as unscrupulousness, brutality, and general disregard for human personality go the grown-up world provides precedents and examples in plenty. One does not have to think only of the Bomb. There are the well-known facts of *How to Get On in the World*—the ruthless treatment of other people and the morality that ends can justify all means. It used to be pretended to the young that honesty was the best policy; now nobody tells them anything so patently at variance with the facts of life.

For all the attention demanded and given to him, the adolescent has not gained much. Release from one set of circumstances and conventions has led only to others which seem hardly more desirable; the "mixed-up" young person is a creature of his time. And the truth is that there can be no emancipation for anyone, in the real sense of the word, in the society in which we live. The emancipation of women, of slaves, of empire-trodden peoples, has meant in actuality only freeing them from one kind of bondage to secure them in another. What is the matter is not the young people or the old people, but the organization of society: the only freedom which can mean anything is freedom deriving from common ownership of the means of life.

It is worth saying also that only in Socialist society will it be possible for the first time for young people to develop freely towards satisfying and full lives. In the Capitalist world they are viewed not as people at all but as future wage-workers, soldiers, consumers, and adherents to this and that. Not long ago the *Daily Mirror*, in an article called "The Beanstalk Generation," claimed that the facts of physical maturity were changing in the emancipated-adolescent age. It goes to show how little is really known about youth, and how little can be known until the entire social environment is changed.

It is not the kids, but the world that is mixed-up and crazy.

ROBERT COSTER.

TELEVISION

QUARE PHENOMENA

ANOTHER month come and gone, and the writing of these notes an almost frightening reminder of how many hours of the best years of one's life have been spent in glassiness before the screen, a woodbine-smoking Lady of Shalott gazing in one's Magic Mirror.

Not every month, however, yields two plays of such quality as *The Quare Fellow* and *The Greatest Man on Earth*. The Brendan Behan piece came over well in its television version, in spite of the condensations of both text and space. A tremendous indictment of prison-keeping, this, all the more because it never explicitly indicts at all: only shows the stupidity and barbarity and humbug, and what it does to everyone concerned.

The Greatest Man on Earth was fun to make you think. In case anyone didn't see it, its situation (devel-

oped from a James Thurber story) was simply the dilemma of American heads of state when a suddenly-sprung national hero turns out to be also hoodlum, illiterate, sex-fiend and general loudmouth. The pace and the amusement never let up, but it seemed as if a point were being made all the time and someone was slyly telling us that this wasn't so far-fetched, either.

What else? Well, there is the news that someone has been appointed to supervise the children's programmes: a beam of hope for the anti-cowboy zealots. Much less hope, however, of any falling-back in the main, most depressing trend in children's television. This is not gunplay and rough-stuff (except possibly the reiteration of the appalling Popeye cartoons, with their interminable beatings-up), but the steady intrusion of juvenile

editions of quizzes, panel games, and the rest of TV "light entertainment."

It is about a hundred years since children began seriously to be educated as future wage-workers and soldiers. The last few years have seen a new addition to the prospects: educating them as future consumers as well. Here it is on the telly, the view presumably being to produce a younger generation which no longer wants to be sheriffs and engine-drivers, but wants to watch "Dotto" instead.

CORRESPONDENCE

IS THE S.P.G.B. CORRECT?

A Critic's Misconception Answered

Dear Sir,

Having attended your various meetings, going through your *SOCIALIST STANDARD* and pamphlets and discussing with your party members, I was made to understand that your party wants to achieve Socialism only through academic discussion and preaching to the working class various slogans and dogmas of Marx and Engels disregarding their material aspect of life. You also advocate that Socialism will come as and when majority people of the world understand and desire Socialism.

It seems to me that your preaching will bear fruits only when some people have paved the way for you by changing the material condition of working class so that they are in a position to listen, understand and act upon your philosophy.

Do you believe in the teachings of Marx that "It is not the consciousness of man that determines their being but on the contrary their social being that determines their consciousness"?

It is a historical truth that the little liberty we enjoy today in the various part of the world, is the result of years' ceaseless struggle of millions—Most certainly the visionaries have played no part in it.

While you are enjoying the freedom and liberty disregarding the process it came through, would you kindly suggest a way to Socialism for the people who are under perpetual subjugation and tyranny and not allowed by law to speak or publish anything that goes against the interest of the ruling class?

Yours faithfully,

(A. A. A. RASHID.)

REPLY

In a not very long letter our correspondent manages to bring together a surprisingly large number of misconceptions about the Socialist case. He certainly did not hear S.P.G.B. speakers say that our declared aim is merely "Academic discussion" and the preaching of "various slogans and dogmas of Marx and Engels"; nor did he read this in Party publications. He will find a summary statement of our position in our Declaration of Principles, which, however, he ignores.

What are the salient features of Capitalism, the social system in which the S.P.G.B. operates and whose abolition it works for?

It is a class-divided social system. No matter what the anti-Socialists say, and irrespective of what politically uninformed workers think, the class struggle between the owning class and the working class is a fact and they are in it. Most of them, individually and in their industrial and reformist political organisations, have no greater

There has also been the shattering allegation that quiz contestants are primed beforehand. Nobody so far has made much of a reply, and one wonders why they should. There is a good deal to be said for it. The questions themselves (What is a Zulu? Which way is south?) are insulting enough; why add humiliation by revealing that the subjects in a good many cases don't know the answers?

ROBERT COSTER.

aim than to try to fight the effects of Capitalism and to try to reform the Capitalist system. They are not aware of the need to abolish it and establish Socialism. They have been doing this for a century and a half without in any way altering the fundamentals of Capitalism, without abolishing poverty, insecurity, unemployment, wars, etc.

Members of the S.P.G.B. are likewise inescapably in the class struggle, but with a difference. Unlike the non-Socialist and the reformist organisations, the S.P.G.B. seeks to make the working class aware of the nature of Capitalism, the necessity of establishing Socialism in its place, the need for democratic political action to achieve this and the impossibility of doing so by means of social reforms.

It is for our correspondent to meet this case, not an imaginary one, and to show us how Socialism can be attained in any other way.

He does indeed offer us a formula, which is that "the material condition of working class" must be changed "so that they are in a position to listen, understand and act upon your philosophy." But it is an empty formula. The "material condition" of the working class is that of being a wage-earning, exploited class in a class society. How can that be changed except by the method we show, that of a Socialist working class organising consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government with the aim of establishing Socialism?

It is true that the struggles of the working class, their resistance to exploitation, have helped to gain "elbow room" and that these struggles, along with the needs of industrial Capitalism, have brought about, in varying degrees, the electoral franchise and the possibility of organising and carrying on propaganda. But after about 150 years all that our correspondent can claim for it is "the little liberty we enjoy today in the various parts of the world." Nowhere has it produced Socialism, nor will it do so. That will be done only after the working class have been won over to Socialism—the function of Socialists and carried on by no-one else. If by the ambiguous term "visionaries" our correspondent means Socialists, he invites our challenge to show us how Socialism can ever be accomplished without a Socialist working class.

Our correspondent refers to "people who are under perpetual subjugation and tyranny," without specifying which people he has in mind. Perhaps it is the working class in Russia and her satellites or in the military dictatorship established by the Capitalist Nationalist movements in former colonial territories, or the workers in

the existing colonies. He is wrong in describing this as "perpetual." The British and other sections of the working class used also to be in the same position, but the developments of Capitalism and the struggles of the workers have brought about "the little liberty" he mentions. How much farther and faster the movement for working class emancipation from Capitalism would have

gone if, instead of allying themselves with sterile movements to "reform" Capitalism, and nationalist movements to establish one Capitalist rule in place of another, the working class had understood and acted upon the international Socialist message of the S.P.G.B. and its companion parties.

ED. COMM.

FILMS

BLOOD IN THE MUD

DON'T like war films. But a Socialist will find much to interest him in "Blitzkrieg," even though it is the latest propaganda effort from Germany.

This film does not tell you anything about why the war arose. Nor does it ask how war can be avoided. But it gives, nevertheless, a devastating picture of what real war is like.

Propaganda films are interesting for one who does not take them at their face value, but recognises them as such. These pictures are made with the intention of making us think, and feel along certain lines. Knowing this beforehand, we can study the methods used by those who hope to influence us.

The makers of "Blitzkrieg" are "good German" patriots. And, though they have used real news films from all countries in its production, their commentary (in English) is an alibi for their actions and for their defeat: Why did we Germans lose the war? Because of the mud and unending snow which trapped our tanks in the steppes of Russia: because the distances we had to cover were too vast; because of American superiority in production: because our allies—the Italian, the Hungarian and Rumanian troops—fought badly on the Eastern front; because Hitler was a very bad general, and a fanatic, whose strategy was disastrous: because he interfered constantly with the experts of the High Command: and because the Reds outnumbered our soldiers ten to one.

But—as we are incessantly reminded throughout the film—the brave German army and its heroic soldiers were never really defeated. They proved their worth. . . One German soldier is worth several Russians or Italians . . . one can almost hear the commentators say "Wait till next time; when we try again—with the lessons in snow warfare which we have learnt at such a cost, and with the armed might of Britain and America behind us instead of against us—we shall beat the Russians."

What caused the war? What were the interests at stake that persuaded the British and German ruling classes to spend so much money fighting each other?

For the Socialist the essential lies in what the film conveniently omits to tell us: How the German Capitalists, undoubtedly with the approval of a good many German people, exterminated millions of Russians, Jews, and Gypsies—and why; how they terrorised and tortured and murdered tens of thousands of German and other Communists, pacifists, and other opponents. It does not tell us of the huge numbers of patriotic men who returned from the war legless, armless, and worse; nor are we shown how the leaders of each country, Nazi and Labour Party leaders, Communists, Christians, Conservatives and Fascists enthusiastically urged the peoples of the world to butcher each other.

What we Socialists are opposed to are the implications that are behind these war films. They are an attempt to justify a past war in order to make a future once more acceptable and they do so by playing on the emotions of the filmgoer. The film is good. But the better it is the more dangerous it is to human well-being. War films are made to glorify war. The majority of those watching no doubt identify themselves with the hero, whether the hero be an individual or army. It is they who, in imagination, perform those deeds of valour, which stripped of their glory, are nothing but killing and terror. This picture is no exception to the rule, and is essentially similar in outlook to British and American war films.

War films reinforce thinking in terms of nationalism and the fake ideals for which the various countries profess to fight. Films such as this help to prepare people for war, and educate them in its basic ideas: they justify the struggles of the ruling class and they present war as inevitable. And, when they shout "Egalite, Fraternite, Liberte!" they mean "Infantry, Artillery and Cavalry."

H. L. R.

WILD STRAWBERRIES

This film, shown at the Edinburgh and London Film Festivals, and now showing, at the Academy cinema, was made by Ingmar Bergman, the Swedish director who has already created a considerable reputation with his earlier films, *Sawdust and Tinsel*, *Smiles of a Summer Night* and *The Seventh Seal*.

Although Bergman has again attempted to reveal the mainsprings of human motives and emotions and made free use of mystical symbols, he has in this film presented his ideas in a much clearer and comprehensible form.

The story is simple. An old doctor, his cold, unhappy life drawing to its close, is tormented by guilt-ridden dreams which, in his own words, "try to tell me things which I cannot admit to myself while I am awake." The dreams tell him that he is hard and egotistical, and without kindness and compassion.

Accompanied by his daughter-in-law, he journeys by car to the town where he is to receive his jubilee doctorate, and on the way gives a lift to two adolescent boys and a young girl, who represent the unfulfilled hopes of his childhood. He also picks up a married couple, who, as in his own marriage, dislike each other intensely, and spend their time quarrelling and inflicting verbal cruelties upon each other.

Through these dreams and experiences, and also be-

cause of his natural fear of loneliness and death, the old man learns the importance of human relationships, and brings belated warmth into his associations with other people.

With this simple theme, Bergman ably demonstrates the horrors of loneliness, and man's desperate need for kinship with his fellow-humans. Unfortunately, what he does not show is the social foundation of much of man's present-day loneliness and lack of satisfactory human relationships, and the way in which modern life has broken down much of our social contact. However, it would be churlish to let this complaint blind us to the many fine qualities of this remarkable film.

Technically the film is excellent, and Bergman uses a multitude of brilliant devices to accentuate the theme of loneliness. The dream sequences never seem overdone or out of place, and the first dream, particularly, with empty streets, driverless hearse, and coffin which spills its ghoulish contents, is a superb piece of the macabre.

Although Bergman is concerned with man's personal predicament in a world of decaying values and collapsing faiths rather than with the social nature of these changes,

such is the quality of his perception that he invariably brings to the screen situations and characters in which we can recognise a social application.

However, Bergman provides a purely personal examination and explanation of human motives, and it would be misleading to suggest that his films are designed as pleas for social change; rather, they are pleas for personal development or change of heart. No matter how satisfying these films may be artistically, they do indicate that the director is mistakenly looking into men's minds for the explanation of human frailty and suffering, whereas the explanation is to be found in the social structure that inflicts itself upon and moulds the minds of these men (including that of Bergman himself).

Loneliness, fear, frustration and unhappiness, if examined closely, in most cases reveal a recognisably social and not personal origin. While sympathising with Bergman's concern for the plight of individual men, one cannot help wishing that he would look a little further for the social basis of much of what he examines.

A. W. I.

BOOK REVIEW

BORSTAL BOY

BRENDAN BEHAN at the age of sixteen came from Dublin to Liverpool with an I.R.A. "do it yourself kit," for the purpose of blowing up Cammell Lairds. He was arrested, and after a stay in Walton Detention Prison, Liverpool, was sent for three years to a Borstal Institution in East Anglia. The book (published by Hutchinson) tells of his experiences in these places.

He speaks of the filth and brutality which existed at Walton Prison, and there is no reason to disbelieve it. Life in Borstal, however, was much different. In fact, it smacks of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and the *Gem* and *Magnet*. Chaps played the game—the Borstal game—apart from the occasional cad, house masters and house captains were sports. There were escapades, larkies and some horseplay. In fact, Behan and Co. at Borstal looks rather like Harry Wharton and Co., at Greyfriars.

The youthful I.R.A. terrorist even assumed a Borstal old school tie attitude, and he said his chinas came to regard the college boys they met via the Rugby field as being something of bounders. Behan also considered that he had a more cultivated and educated mind than the college products.

One of the defects of the book is that the conversation is so loaded or over-loaded with barrack room lingo that it fails to trigger off effectively. In fact, the constant repetition of stereotyped swear words takes on the chant of a litany. If one wants to substitute the soporific effect of counting imaginary sheep—jumping over a stile, then counting the swear-words which appear at such regular and monotonous intervals in the book will prove just as effective. One feels that the author exploits the swearing gimmick in an attempt to impart a vitality and excitement to the conversation which it often lacks. In any case, bad language is not necessarily a criterion of bad boys, even "good boys" often indulge in it.

Behan himself outswears the wide boys, the screws, toughies and ponces. But surely if one is describing a drug addict one does not have to take dope for the purpose of so doing. He seems naive enough to believe that

"wicked words" are the hall mark of masculinity, especially his masculinity, when more often than not they are a bawdy blanket to cover a paucity of effective expression.

In spite of all the tumult and violence of the book, it has a monastic quality in that nothing of any significance from the outside world ever seeps in. Not even the war which was going on at the time is mentioned, in fact, the author never seems to have really noticed it. There is no serious discussion, not even about Ireland. Behan indulges in rodomantade about Irish politics, religion and history, but never indicates that he has any grasp of the underlying economic and political factors of Irish history.

Behan might say that he takes the world as he finds it. But what he finds in it is precious little, although he is often a little precious about it. His characters might be incorrigible and by certain standards a little impossible, but it seems vide the author that they live in the best of all possible worlds. He sees nothing wrong with the world and his only "revolutionary" aim, it seems, to use his own words, is to become a rich red.

Behan at least went to Borstal wearing a slightly glamourised would-be Martyr's crown. He came out none the worse, perhaps even a little better for it. But what of the mal-adjusted, the misfits and the unfortunates; what happened to them? That, perhaps, is the most disquieting thing of all, but Behan never mentions it.

He has nothing to say against patriotism or nationalism either of the English, Irish or any other variety. He seems to regard many Englishmen as stiff-necked and arrogant, but sees no reason why they should not be either in their native country or to people who come from other countries. But in a world of conflicting national interests, being pro Irish, English or American, means even at the best of times being negatively anti-something else. In the worse times such feelings take on an active and hostile form.

Behan's book is of a piece with Behan himself,

bumptious, bouncing and bawdy, with a hint of hindsight and flashes of poetry. It is genuinely funny in places, but suffers from repetition. Behan at least has a sense of bubbling humour which pops and fizzles in all sorts of unexpected places and is a refreshing contrast to the "look back in anger," chip on the shoulder, the world owes me a living, writers who have set a literary fashion.

He has himself become rather fashionable, but literary fashions, like women's fashions, change quickly, and unless his future output is more significant than his past and present ones, Behan might easily become an has Behan.

E. W.

LIFE OR DEATH, 1958

THERE is something cold and detached about the world of statistics, for it forms a part of a science based upon self-evident truths and abstract relationships, and there was certainly something chill about the proceedings in the Central Hall, Westminster, on the evening of September 22nd.

On the platform were three eminent scientists—Professor Linus Pauling, of Pasadena, U.S.A., Professor Marcus Oliphant of Australia, and Professor Powell of Bristol University; three men whose contribution to science is acknowledged as great within their own lifetime. They were there at the invitation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, to be cross-examined "about nuclear and hydrogen bombs and the responsibility of the Scientist in the Nuclear Age." Their interrogators were two journalists, a liberal politician, and a Q.C.

In expert and erudite terms—terms which any layman could well understand—Messrs. Pauling, Oliphant and Powell explained with the cold compulsion of science the horrors of living in this nuclear age. To have been unmoved would have been to deny that one was a human being. To have accepted their conclusions would have been to deny the very "scientific method" that they had earlier evoked to their aid.

What did they say?

They told us that the genetic mutations caused by radiation from one 20 megaton bomb would cause the birth of 15,000 deformed children, and that consequently mankind had already mutilated 150,000 of its future offspring; and that there is no defence against a nuclear weapon, as indeed there is no defence against high explosives or bullets, save not to have them.

They told us that a limited nuclear war is impossible. That once a nuclear weapon is exploded, retaliation is certain. It had been estimated that even if 630 H bombs were dropped on the U.S. (which number would kill 150 millions of the total population of 175 millions by direct action alone), America's retaliation potential would not be seriously impaired. This because U.S. missile bases were spread throughout many parts of the globe, and atomic weapons are standard equipment carried by patrol aircraft and submarines.

They told us that though it was possible to detect nuclear explosions and control the making of nuclear weapons, it would be impossible to detect a store of nuclear weapons already assembled. Nuclear materials can be buried conveniently underground, and a plot of earth 30 foot square could house enough nuclear potential to blow the earth out of the universe.

We were told that clean bombs are the starting point for all conventional nuclear weapons. That a clean bomb can be converted into a dirty bomb of twice the power by the simple expedient of changing the nature of the outer compartment metal. And that far from cleaning its bombs, the U.S. was at the moment removing all its

nuclear weapons from stock and dirtying them up, by adding something to them. According to Professor Pauling, such a dirty bomb if dropped on London would kill the populations of Manchester and Liverpool by the direct fall-out of radioactive material.

They told us that in a matter of a few years the number of nations which possessed nuclear weapons would be doubled. That a nuclear weapon could be exploded anywhere without anyone having the slightest idea where it came from.

And one thing was said which shows the barrenness of supporting campaigns like the one organised by the nuclear disarmament people. Even if it were possible to destroy all stocks of nuclear weapons and prevent the manufacture of more, even then, in the event of a war, it would take but a year to re-assemble the knowledge of the past and make further bombs. As Professor Oliphant said: "You cannot banish nuclear war without banning all war."

What is the answer?

Our three scientists thought that international agreements and pacts, designed initially to ban the further testing of nuclear weapons, were the starting point. From this, they thought, growing confidence and mutual trust would finally make complete disarmament a possibility.

Such a position is untenable because it is unscientific. If, as our scientists admit, nuclear disarmament cannot be divorced from the problem of war itself, a solution of the former can only be accomplished within a general solution of the latter. War is no act of God, no manifestation of human nature. War is a product of the nature of society. A society whose basis, private ownership of the means of living and sale of goods for a profit, is the cornerstone of man's inhumanity to man. It is the result of international competition by groups of property-owners for raw materials, markets, and strategic positions. Though the players may be disguised and masquerade as governments, the game is just the same, the spoils just as large, the rules just as ghastly.

What place has mutual trust in a world which exhorts the act of legalised plunder and pillage as its premise? Where a sense of growing confidence as half the world's population dies of slow starvation? What price international agreements with a ballistic missile levelled at your head?

It is difficult to conceive the horrors of an H.B. war; to realise that each bomb is 20 million times bigger than the biggest block buster used in the second world war. Who can imagine London lying obliterated and the peoples of Leeds and Birmingham dying by the same act? Such things are almost beyond the grasp of human comprehension. And yet they may become reality tomorrow. The choice is yours. Is it to be Capitalism or Socialism, private property or social equality, war or peace, life or death?

MICHAEL B. GILL.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

A series of lectures on Thursday evenings at 8 p.m.

at

668 Fulham Road, S.W.6
(Wilcox, Nr. Munster Rd.)

December 11th "SCIENCE AND SOCIETY"
Fred Warlow

HAMPSTEAD MEETING

Wednesday, 17th December at 8 p.m.

at

126, BOUNDARY ROAD, ABBEY ROAD, N.W.8
"MARXISM AND DARWINISM"
Speaker - H. Young

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne. Sydney: 29, Doris Street, North Sydney. Box 2291, G.P.O. Sydney.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.



OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park ... 3.30—7 p.m.
East Street
(Walworth) December 7th 12.30 p.m.
" 14th 11 a.m.
" 21st 11 a.m.
" 28th 12.30 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS

Gloucester Road ... 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.

FRIDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road ... 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

PADDINGTON BRANCH

invites you to the following meetings

Wednesday, 3rd December - G. Arthur
"TRADE UNIONS TO-DAY"

Wednesday, 10th December - H. Young
"DARWIN AND MARXISM"

Wednesday, 17th December - I. Jones
"SHELLEY—HIS POLITICS"

All commence 8.30 p.m. Laurie Arms, Crawford Place
(Off Edgware Road, adjacent Marylebone Road)

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTONHAM.—Secretary, Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnsdale Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER Sec.: J. M. Breakey, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIDSbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Meets every 4th Thursday (Dec. 4th) at "Three Kings" (Club Room), near Mitcham Fair Green. Secretary: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT.—Meetings at Cattle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MA1 5165.

REDFHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wollon Rd., Pencuolgi, Nr. Llanelli

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BASILDON (Previously Wickford). Branch meets on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m., at the Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence to Secretary, R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month at 7.30 p.m. (Dec. 4th and 18th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at 32 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 32, Solon Road, Brixton, S.W.2.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles, Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 668 Fulham Rd. S.W.6. (Wilcox, nr. Munster Rd.) All correspondence to Secretary, L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrock, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E.1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (Dec. 3rd, 17th and 31st) at 8 p.m. The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (Dec. 1st, 15th and 29th) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivimey, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware, Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. (Dec. 3rd, 17th and 31st). 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, R. E. Carr, S.P.G.B., c/o Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m., at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham. Enquiries to Secretary, 83, Portland Road, Waverley Street, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbass, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 'Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eatham, S.E.9.

DOCUMENTARY FILMS at HEAD OFFICE

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comments at H.Q.

52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4.

(near Clapham North Tube Station)

Sunday evenings at 7.30 p.m.

The meeting is then open for questions and discussion which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale. Visitors particularly welcome.

Dec. 7th "THE FILM THAT NEVER WAS"—

R. Ambridge

„ 14th "ENTERPRISE"—H. Baldwin.

„ 21st "THERE'S A JOB TO BE DONE"—

J. Trotman

„ 28th No Meeting.

Jan. 4th "THE INVISIBLE ENEMY"—H. Jarvis.

DEBATE IN NOTTINGHAM

LIBERAL PARTY

versus

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Monday, December 8th, 7.15 p.m.

"PEOPLES HALL,"

Heathcoat Street, Nottingham

Speakers:

Liberals—S. THOMAS (Prospective Candidate)

S.P.G.B.—F. JAMES

PUBLICATION DATE OF
"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

SOCIALIST STANDARD SUBSCRIPTION FORM

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